

LANGUAGE ACQUISITION OF 1980 CUBAN IMMIGRANT
JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

By

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Sandra Homlar Fradd

To all the Cubans who came here in 1980--may you
someday know and love the people of the United States
as I have grown to love those of you whom I have known.

To the Cuban-Americans who allowed me to step
through the transparent curtain that divides our worlds.

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April 1983

Chairman: Clemens L. Hallman
Cochairman: Allan F. Burns
Major Department: Curriculum and Instruction

This is an ethnographic study of the influences of first language, school, peers, and home on language acquisition among 1980 Cuban immigrants in a junior high school.

Participants were seventh- and eighth-grade students who came to the U.S. during the 1980 Cuban exodus. These students spoke Spanish and were in the process of learning English. Forty-one students agreed to individual language testing; 63 students participated in the group tests. Tests in English and Spanish were the Language Assessment Battery III, the Language Assessment Scales II, and Inter-American Reading Comprehension Test III, in Spanish. Students completed language use surveys and participated in individual interviews. Thirty-nine students returned language surveys completed by parents. Four parents were interviewed. Bilingual and ESL teachers rated students' language

competence in English and Spanish. Physical education teachers rated them on participation.

Participant observation revealed that females who avoided interaction in English were the lowest achievers in oral English. Males and females who were the highest achievers in oral English preferred to speak Spanish, but communicated freely in English.

First language ability was significantly correlated with second language acquisition. Parents' self-rating was significantly correlated with Spanish oral proficiency. Physical education ratings were correlated with English achievement for females, Spanish achievement for males.

Results of the study indicate that those who establish and implement second language program policy should consider the relationship of first language fluency to second language acquisition. First language instruction can be an important component of the language program for limited English proficient students. Schools with populations of these students should consider the entire faculty responsible for these students' progress. Further research should focus on the role of culturally prescribed sex roles as determiners of language acquisition. Additional study should also include the effect of students' previous experience in Cuba as an influence in English acquisition.

CHAPTER ONE RATIONALE FOR STUDY

Problem Statement

One of the critical questions which recent researchers in second language acquisition have begun to address is the relationship between first language ability and second language acquisition. Considering the diversity of opinion which exists concerning the best method for enabling students who speak another language to become fluent in English, the importance of this question is apparent. There are educators, administrators, and politicians who believe all-day instruction in English is the only method which will enable children to achieve mastery of English. Other educators and professionals believe the same goal can be achieved more effectively by building on students' first language fluency. Because little research has been done on the relationship between first language fluency and second language acquisition, most educational decisions are based on opinion rather than knowledge of research (Carrison, 1983; Troike, 1983).

The learning of a second language can also be influenced by other factors in addition to first language fluency. In order to fully understand the relationship between first language ability and second language acquisition, other influencing factors must be analyzed and documented. The purpose of this research is to study the relationship between first language ability and second language learning and to

explore and observe some other factors which influence the learning of a second language.

Introduction

Ethnography is the research method used in this study. In anthropology, ethnography is a method by which the researcher gains understanding of the participants of the research by studying them within the context of the community in which they live and interact. For purposes of this work, I am using the definitions of Geertz (1973) and Wolcott (1980).

Geertz sees ethnography as a process of interpreting the ecological webs of significance in peoples' lives. From the textbook perspective, Geertz (1973) sees doing ethnography as ". . . establishing rapport, selecting informants, transcribing texts, . . . keeping a diary . . ." (p. 5), but argues that while these activities may be methods used by the ethnographer, they do not necessarily make an ethnography. The primary characteristic which distinguishes ethnography from other research methods is the requirement that the researcher utilize the participants' understanding in interpreting the results (Geertz, 1973).

The responsibility of the ethnographer is to impose a cultural framework of interpretation on what he or she observes as occurring in the culture. Wolcott (1980) believes, "we are fast losing sight of the fact that the essential ethnographic contribution is interpretive rather than methodological" (p. 57). He emphasizes that the difference between doing descriptive fieldwork and doing ethnography is that ethnography seeks to apply a cultural context and a cultural interpretation to an observed event. Observational fieldwork does not.

Nonaffiliation

Cubans and Cuban-Americans have very strong, persuasive feelings about the Cuban Revolution. Much of what they say is colored by their experiences, as well as their political perspective. While the dominant position of the Cuban-Americans in the U.S. is one of opposition to the Cuban Revolution, there are also pro-Revolutionary forces within the Cuban-American and the larger U.S. population (Azicri, 1981-82). These opposing political positions act like opposite polarizing magnets within the Cuban-American community. Because field research brings one into close, direct contact with the research population and other significant people, the researcher soon becomes aware of these conflicting political positions. In spite of the tendency to identify with the group in which one is working, this researcher maintains a politically neutral position and seeks only to report and interpret the research evidence in the most comprehensible way possible. Any political interpretations placed on this work are erroneous. The purposes of this research are to study the relationship between first language ability and second language learning, to explore some other factors that influence the learning of a second language, and to share this knowledge with other interested persons.

Historical-Demographic Overview

Cuba is by far the largest island in the Caribbean in terms of: population with 9,865,000 inhabitants; land mass, 43,533 square miles; and length, 745 miles (Lowenthal, 1982). It has about the same amount of land under cultivation as Japan, but only one-tenth the population

(Black, Bluestein, Edwards, Johnston, & McMorris, 1976). Its location makes it one of the U.S. closest noncontiguous neighbors. However, in terms of ideology, for the past 24 years the historical, political, social, and educational evolution of Cuba has been very different from that of its neighbor to the north.

When compared with the amount of research collected on other Hispanic groups, little is known about the Cuban students in the U.S. school systems (Diaz, 1980), even though they comprise about 6% of the Hispanic population in the U.S. and are the third largest Hispanic single group in the U.S. (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1981). According to Diaz (1980), the number of Cubans in the U.S. has increased over the past two decades by 1,500%. His report was completed before the 1980 immigration which added approximately another 125,000 Cubans to the U.S. population (Department of Health and Rehabilitative Services, 1982). There are several reasons for this lack of information. Cubans have concentrated in a few major locations within the U.S. and are not widely available for research; few sociologists, anthropologists, or educational researchers have chosen to observe and study Cubans in the U.S. (Diaz, 1980).

The people from the first wave of Cuban refugees to arrive after Castro's takeover in 1959 were labeled the "golden immigrants" because they represented the wealthy, well-educated elite who already had close ties with the economic and social establishment within the U.S. For a period of more than 5 years, the Cuban immigrants in the U.S. were not at all representative of the island population. The wealthy and well-educated Cubans in the U.S. represented a much larger proportion of the total Cuban immigrants than they did in Cuba (Fagen, Brody, & O'Leary,

1968). As Cuban immigration continued, the Cuban population in the U.S. began to take on characteristics more closely resembling the island population in terms of race, economic and social levels (Clark, 1975).

The most recent and massive immigration, termed by the press as the "Freedom Flotilla" or the "Mariel Boatlift" because most immigrants left from the northern port of Mariel, began in April 1980 and officially terminated in September of the same year. Although some reports are conflicting, until recently most of the information about these people has been negative, categorizing them as Castro himself labeled them, "the scum of Cuban society, 'gusanos,' or worms." With the exception of the work of Rivero (1981), little is known about the special needs, problems, or abilities of the Cuban children who entered the Florida public school system in 1980. These children who have been raised in a socialist society have attitudes and habits which differ from those who came in previous migrations. Because of the lack of research, little is known about the way these students are adapting to the new social and educational environment.

This study was designed to collect data on a specific population of 1980 Cuban immigrant junior high school students, their parents, and other significant family and community members. It investigates students' Spanish proficiency and their progress in learning English. Data have been collected through participant observation, linguistic measurements, surveys, and interviews. Correlations have been performed which indicate some of the factors which facilitate or inhibit second language acquisition for these students.

Because of the sensitive nature of the data collected, no references are made to the specific location of the community, school, or students

where the study was conducted. All information gathered through interviews and participant observation remains anonymous. It is presented in such a way as to preclude identification of informants or other participants.

Hypotheses and Research Questions

Hypothesis One

Using standardized written and oral measurements, students judged to be more proficient in Spanish will be found to make significantly more progress in learning English than students who are determined to be less proficient in Spanish. Research questions: For these students, is there a relationship between first language ability and second language acquisition? Does greater ability in first language facilitate the acquisition of the second?

Hypothesis Two

Students whose parents, family members, relatives, and other significant community members are reinforcing learning by their behavior will make more progress toward acquiring English skills as measured by ethnographic means than students whose parents, family members, relatives, and significant community members do not. The research question: What is happening at home and in the community and the school environment that is inhibiting or facilitating the acquisition of English?

Hypothesis Three

Students who utilize English communication opportunities will make more progress in mastering English as measured by ethnographic means than students who do not. Research question: Are there measurable behavioral differences which can be observed in the school environment that distinguish students who score higher on standardized written and oral tests from students who score lower on the same measures?

Delimitations

This research has been limited to the Cuban students who arrived in the U.S. between the months of April and October 1980 and who were enrolled in one junior high school in a county in south Florida. Included in the formal student interviews and oral language sample phase of the study were 41 seventh and eighth graders--19 males and 22 females. These 41 students and 39 of their parents participated in the survey phase. Four parents participated in the formal parent interviews. A total of 63 Cuban students--the entire enrollment for this junior high school--participated in the written language tests and informal interview phase of the research.

Formal and informal interviews were conducted with 15 teachers, 6 administrators, 8 aides and other staff, 41 students and their parents, and 15 other students at the school where the study was conducted. Merchants and others who work in the community where the research was conducted were also interviewed, as were other Cubans and Cuban-Americans from earlier immigrations who had settled in the

area. Formal and informal interviews of 1980 Cubans and Cuban-Americans were conducted in the Little Havana district of Miami, Hialeah, and in other parts of Florida. A total of 141 formal and informal interviews were conducted for this research. A list of interviewees, by occupation, is available in Appendix A. All interviews are anonymous to protect the confidentiality of the informants.

Definitions

1. Cuban-Cubans--Cubans who were born in Cuba, continue to retain residence there, and who may visit the U.S., but have not sought to become permanent inhabitants, are, for the purpose of this research, identified as Cuban-Cubans.

2. Cubans--Cubans who have recently migrated to the U.S. and still retain a sense of identification with their homeland which sets them apart from Cubans who have been in the U.S. for longer periods of time are in essence still Cubans. They have not experienced the acculturation process which moves them toward ties with the host country. Although many people who were born in Cuba have become naturalized U.S. citizens and still refer to themselves as "Cubans," for purposes of this study, the word Cubans is used to mean people who migrated to the U.S. in the 1980 cohort.

3. Cuban-Americans--The term "Cuban-Americans" is primarily an Anglo-American word used by people speaking English. It is seldom used by immigrants from Cuba in the U.S. who usually refer to themselves as either "Cubans" or "Americans." However, for purposes of this research, Cubans who have experienced, at least in part, the acculturation process which links them with the customs and culture of the U.S.

are termed Cuban-Americans. They represent the group of Cuban immigrants who arrived in the U.S. prior to the 1980 "Freedom Flotilla" or "Mariel Boatlift."

Justification

The second language research by Rodriguez-Brown (1979), who looked at primary Mexican students in Chicago, along with the work of Cummins (1981), Cummins, Swain, Nakajima, Handscombe, and Green (1981), and Cummins, Swain, Nakajima, Handscombe, Green, and Tran (in press), who looked at the relationship of first and second languages across ages, indicates that first language proficiency is related to second language acquisition. Cummins et al. (in press) point out that the theoretical assumption of "common underlying proficiency" is a construct which ". . . appears counterintuitive to many policy makers and educators" (p. 2). Cummins et al. (in press) state that research in behavioral and language use patterns across languages is an innovation in second language study that requires a great deal of further investigation.

The controversy regarding the use of primary language instruction to enhance second language learning has continued for the past decade, yet most second language research has been focused on elementary school students and adults learning a second language (Hatch, 1978). Hatch documents that between 1913 and 1976, 75 second language acquisition studies of children 12 years or younger were conducted. During the same time period, 30 studies of adults and 11 studies of teenagers also occurred. Both Genesee (1978) and Snow and Hoefnagel-Hohle (1978) agree that adolescents learn the rule-governed parts of language--those aspects

of language generally taught at school--more quickly than younger children. Therefore, if the primary language is important for knowledge transfer to the second language, that importance should become more rapidly evident in studies of adolescents than in studies of younger students. Because adolescents form social groups and maintain social contacts more independent of authority and direction than do elementary students, it is theorized that adolescent second language acquisition should also provide fruitful ground for observing the social aspects of language learning.

Often, adequate exposure time to the target language is interpreted to mean the number of minutes of classroom instruction within the school day. However, classroom exposure is only one facet of language learning. Fillmore's (1976) use of the term "adequate exposure time to the target language" points to the need for linguistic interpersonal interaction as one of the major determiners of language acquisition. The social influence of language learning must seriously be considered if schools are to fully integrate the limited English-speaking student into the English-speaking population. Expanded understanding of "adequate exposure time to the target language" can be translated into improved training programs for all school personnel where there are large populations of second language learners. It can also be useful in working with parents to plan more effective programs for their children and for bridging the cultural and linguistic gulf which may exist between the minority language community and the larger English-speaking community.

By looking at these limited English-speaking students as individuals, as well as members of a specific cultural and linguistic

group, this research seeks to remove some of the stereotypical ways of thinking about them which may currently exist. In summary, it is anticipated that this research will provide the school systems and those charged with the responsibility of educating students with limited English proficiency, additional information on which to base educational decisions regarding the relationship of students' first language and second language acquisition. Additionally, it will give educators and policy makers information on the behaviors which students display in learning English as a second language. This information can be utilized to train teachers, structure programs, and encourage additional research.

CHAPTER TWO REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

Because this research is interdisciplinary in nature, it requires an understanding not only of the findings in the field of second language acquisition, but also of the process of assimilation and acculturation. To understand the factors which influence English learning for a group of 1980 Cuban students, it is important to consider the way in which previous groups of Cuban immigrants have adapted to life in the U.S., the conditions under which they lived in Cuba, and circumstances of their arrival and adjustment in the U.S.

This review is therefore divided into five subsections: the first is an overview of the use of ethnography and sociolinguistics in second language education; the second is a review of assimilation and acculturation of immigrant groups within the U.S.; the third is a review of the data on previous Cuban migrations that have occurred since the Cuban Revolution; the fourth is a review of significant sociopolitical and economic factors in Revolutionary Cuba that may have affected the 1980 migrants; the fifth is a review of data on the 1980 immigrants.

Because of the broad scope of this review of the literature, no one section is considered to be an exhaustive analysis of all available information. Each section is written for the purpose of presenting an overview of background information relating to the current language learning of this specific population.

Ethnography in Second Language Acquisition

The current movement for bilingual education is largely the result of the struggles of linguistic minorities for equal educational opportunity (Guthrie & Hall, 1981). The underpinnings of the movement came with the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Act of 1965 established federal policy. The Bilingual Education Acts of 1968 and 1974, the 1970 Memorandum, and the 1974 *Lau v. Nichols* Supreme Court decision all expanded on those first two enactments (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Clearinghouse, 1975).

Until recently, educators, as well as most of the population, viewed cultural and linguistic differences as limitations within the students and as the underlying cause of minority failure in school. While this view is slowly changing, it is still accepted by some educators today.

For purposes of this research, culture is defined as ". . . whatever one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members . . ." (Goodenough, 1964, p. 36). Culture provides group members with a common social heritage. Although for some anthropologists, language is not considered relevant to the understanding of culture, for purposes of this research, it is considered an integral element. In the words of Sapir, ". . . they talk like us, they are like us" (1958, p. 16). The language and culture which recent Cuban immigrants share with immigrants who entered the U.S. during previous waves, unite, and at the same time, separate the two groups.

Education and Ethnography

Cultural knowledge is more than just a stock of information people must know about everyday life. It consists of attitudes, beliefs, expectations, preferences, and values. While this type of knowledge may not always be obvious in everyday behavior, transmission of this information is crucial for cultural continuity (Hansen, 1979). When groups of people with different cultural knowledge enter the community, a cultural conflict will exist until the differences are accommodated or resolved. Hansen (1979) reminds us that ". . . the transmission of cultural knowledge is subject to both conservative forces and to tendencies toward continual redefinition" (p. 6). Hansen believes that all social interaction, including cultural transmission, requires interpersonal communication and is subject to individual interpretation. Each individual interpretation is based on that individual's background of cultural knowledge and personal experience. This interpretative process affects the understanding of shared meanings and precludes total agreement of bodies of knowledge by all participants involved in the interaction. These individual differences in interpretation provide ". . . a crucial mechanism for the gradual modification of shared understanding in the course of social life, as people reinterpret their experiences in light of changing circumstances" (Hansen, 1979, p. 2). Individual interpretations also are the vehicle for cultural conflict and stereotyping, or cross-cultural understanding.

Herskovits (1964) distinguishes between two facets of the process of acculturation by viewing "socialization" as the method of integrating the individual into the social group and "enculturation" as the means

by which the individual obtains competence in the customs and knowledge of the social group. Hansen (1979) believes these distinctions imply gradations in learning comprehension and commitment to the social group.

The building of stereotypes

A recent trend in education is the teaching of the culture of the linguistically different children as an instructional element of the bilingual curriculum. This type of cultural instruction is quite different from either Hansen's or Herskovits' conceptualizations of acculturation. Students are more often taught about the manifestations of culture, the cultural artifacts such as clothing, food, and music, rather than being assisted to understand the culturally oriented expectations they hold which may be in conflict because they differ with those of the host society. Instruction in some of the ethnic manifestations of culture can be motivating and interesting to the students, but emphasis on the overt aspects of culture tends to obscure the more subtle differences which may be at the very foundation of the learning difficulty (Guthrie & Hall, 1981).

Harrington (1978) finds that as a society becomes more pluralistic or culturally diverse, people tend to simplify their world by making groups and mentally lumping people together. Thus stereotyping begins. One of the major difficulties which ethnographers face in presenting information about other cultures is the formation of new stereotypes which may add to or replace the old ones. In discussing cultural differences, Harrington observes three different levels of understanding: how all people are unique, how all people are the same, and how some people are similar to or different from others. "In thinking of

children, whatever culture a child is from, he or she is human, able to learn, able to think, and able to feel, and cultural differences are small compared to these similarities" (Harrington, 1978, p. 2). In thinking of culture in terms of educational planning, Harrington believes that knowing something about a particular culture ". . . does not excuse educators from their obligation to know the child as an individual, unique from other individuals, and to respond to the child's own special needs with a personally designed plan of instruction" (1978, p. 2).

The removal of barriers

Members of the dominant culture tend to think of culture as being observed only in other groups of people and to believe there is only one unifying culture per group. Mehan (1981) stresses the need to analyze language and culture in the classroom from the viewpoint of the participants. This analysis may require several perspectives--that of the dominant culture and that of participants who are not members of the dominant group. The researcher must therefore be fluent in the language or languages spoken in the cultures to be studied.

The anthropological researcher from the U.S. involved in educational research in the U.S. must devote a great deal more thought to research design and the presentation of the results than has been done when anthropologists went on a frontier expedition to study an unknown culture (Burns, 1976). The researcher raised in the culture where the research takes place has cultural expectations which can obscure the cultural significance of an event as it is viewed by the participants. It is necessary to make the familiar strange rather than making the strange familiar, as occurs in studies of unknown cultures.

Overreliance on educational tests permits researchers and educators to know students only psychometrically. Test performance does not reveal a full view of students' skills and abilities. No one measure is an adequate assessment of competence. The importance of a greater awareness of the cultural norms within and outside the specific community being studied can not be overrated. It is necessary to use the school community as a wider context in which to focus attention because there is greater potential for understanding behavior by comparing that behavior or event with cultural events of the broader community (Gilmore & Smith, 1982).

The purpose of ethnography in educational research, according to Wilson (1977), is to allow the researcher to investigate events as they occur in the everyday setting and to thus generalize the research findings to the larger world where similar events and participants exist. Wilson (1977) believes, however, the presence of the researcher influences the participants and may cause them to have a ". . . suspiciousness of the intent of the researcher, a sense of the behavior that is either appropriate or expected, a special interpersonal relationship with the experimenter, and a desire to be evaluated positively" (p. 49). The researcher must be aware of these influences and consider them in interpreting data gathered through interaction with participants. Additionally, the researcher must interpret feelings, thoughts, and actions as the participants involved would, as well as from a perspective of an outsider by seeking a variety of sources of information upon which to establish internal and external reliability and validity (Le Compte & Goetz, 1982).

Sociolinguistics in Education and Second Language Acquisition

The study of the relationship of language to society is defined as sociolinguistics (Hudson, 1980). Although the study of dialects and relationship of culture to word meaning have customarily been a part of the field of linguistics since the 1960s, sociolinguistics has received widespread interest because of its potential for understanding of the nature of language and society (Hudson, 1980).

Process and motivation

Ervin-Tripp (1978) observes that the process of second language acquisition is like learning the first, and dispels the myth that younger children are better second language learners than teenagers or adults. In natural language settings, second language learners tend to pass through the same stages as first language learners. Rate and stage will not be the same if students come to the second language task with prior knowledge, or if they receive instruction. Second language learner strategies, according to Ervin-Tripp, are "quite like those mother-tongue learners employed in both interpretation and translation tasks" (p. 205).

In observing students' second language acquisition strategies in a naturalistic setting, Fillmore (1976) finds the students able to use their new language in meaningful social settings prior to exhibiting evidence of the understanding of the grammatical rules governing such speech. Creative speech is expressed only after students acquire an understanding of the structure governing their utterances. Fillmore finds that the social elements of language acquisition are intricately

interwoven with the cognitive elements. Learner success ". . . depended not on cognitive skills alone, but also on having the social skills that enabled him to participate in the situations in which the new language was used" (Fillmore, 1976, p. vii).

Krashen's (1978) focus is on adult second language acquisition and what he calls theory of the Monitor Model. His model posits that conscious language learning is available only as a monitor which corrects speech production, sometimes before and sometimes after output. The Monitor is not always functioning in speech production because often there is not enough time to think and consciously apply grammatical rules. Frequently, the speaker may be more engrossed in the message than the form. Conscious awareness of grammar is one of the major distinctions between adult and child second language learning. Psychological changes that occur with the onset of puberty may also heighten feelings of vulnerability during adolescence. The combination of increased ability for abstract thought and a sense of reluctance to reveal one's self may cause overuse of the Monitor, and result in reluctance to speak in the new language. Krashen's findings on adult-child language learning differences are supported by the work of Snow and Hoefnagel-Hohle (1978) who find older learners have an advantage over younger students in acquiring rule-governed aspects of second language syntax and morphology.

In reviewing research relating second language acquisition to aptitude, Krashen (1978) finds that integrative motivation, the desire to become part of the culture of the language, and self-confidence work together to facilitate the production of naturalistic speech. The

second language learner who is motivated to become a part of the society of the target language is more apt to listen carefully and utilize the language he or she hears in the environment for future linguistic interaction with native speakers. According to Krashen (1978), motivational variables play a large part in how the learner makes use of informal language contexts. The integrative motive is weakest where there are political feelings of ill will toward speakers of the target language, or there are perceived expressions of contempt from native speakers of the language toward those who are learning it.

In developing the Acculturation Model, Schumann (1978) presents a taxonomy of nine factors which influence second language acquisition. The strongest influence in learning a language is the desire for social integration. Comparing second language acquisition for children, adolescents, and adults, Schumann finds that the participant who remains the most psychologically and socially distant from mainstream culture in the English-speaking environment acquires the least amount of English. A corollary of Schumann's hypothesis is that acculturation is the major causal variable in second language acquisition; all other variables are minor intervening ones. In typical educational institutions where very few variables such as use of text, teacher, or treatment, can be controlled, the variables are so weak that they exert very little effect on total second language learning. The desire for motivational integration, to be associated with the native speakers, or the wish to avoid contact with people of the target language, provides the impetus for inhibiting or facilitating language learning. This force interacts with the cognitive processes and strategies which the learner employs in utilizing language input.

Sajavaara (1978) adds to the Monitor and Acculturation Models by concluding that "Acquisition will take place if language is used for meaningful communication, the socioaffective filter is lowered, and there is enough input in context which is communicatively meaningful for the learner" (p. 67). The focus must be on the message instead of the form.

In second language research of students learning a marked language, one considered to have less social value (Fishman, 1976), Edelsky and Hudelson (1980) find that the political position of the second language is a more important influence than the amount of daily or weekly exposure or the length of time spent in study. Even though the markedness of a language is a sociopolitical factor which originates outside the school, it is a powerful force which must be recognized before it can be dealt with effectively. The political factor can account for policy development and implementation, curriculum organization, classroom structure, and the allocation and utilization of staff and resources within the instructional program (Burns, 1981-82; Shuy, 1981).

In his synthesis of research on bilingual education, Troike (1981) finds that the use of two languages, the home language as well as English, fosters greater cognitive gains as well as greater acquisition of English skills than English-only instruction. Breaking down cultural barriers which often exist between the home and the school and providing an educational environment which accepts the child and shows respect for his or her culture and language are the important factors which increase language proficiency and academic achievement. Cummins' (1981) work agrees with that of Troike. Cummins states,

. . . although both sociocultural and educational factors contribute directly to the development of communicative proficiency in minority students, a large majority of academic and communicative deficits . . . are developed in these students as a result of failure by educators to respond appropriately to sociocultural and communicative characteristics which children bring to school.
(p. 41)

Measuring language proficiency

Canale (in press) reviews some of the recent frameworks for language proficiency and finds that there is general agreement regarding general "underlying abilities, knowledge systems, and skills," but "there is less agreement on the content and boundaries of this underlying competence, and hence, on what language proficiency tests do and should measure" (p. 2). While Cummins (1981) accepts the terms "communicative proficiency" and "linguistic proficiency" as synonyms, Canale finds that linguistic proficiency is comprised generally of language universals that are only part of what he terms individual proficiency. Communicative and autonomous proficiencies are a result of socialization processes, as well as individual differences in personal development, learning style, personality, and motivation.

Differential criteria in language evaluation are exemplified in the research of Damico, Oller, and Storey (1981) who utilize both pragmatic and surface-oriented criteria to identify bilingual individuals displaying language disorders. Results indicate that pragmatic criteria were more effective than surface-oriented criteria in distinguishing language disorders from lack of language proficiency.

The research of Rodriguez-Brown and Elias-Olivares (1981) correlates language use at school, at home, and in natural language

situations with language attitudes of the community-at-large. They believe that presently available language proficiency tests are too narrow in scope and based on what psychologists, linguists, and educators perceive about what children should do rather than what children actually can do.

The assessment of language dominance is reviewed by Burt and Dulay (1978) who stress the importance of distinguishing between naturalistic and linguistically manipulative tasks. Measurements on each of these tasks will result in different sets of linguistic information. Pedraza and Pousada (1980) find that their ethnographic techniques for determining language dominance revealed different information than standardized language tests or self-report measures. They conclude that students labeled as ailingual by measures used at school were quite fluent in one or two languages in their home environment. They emphasize that for bilinguals, labels indicating language proficiency and dominance may be unstable descriptors that change over time and within different social environments.

Rodriguez-Brown (1979) finds that educational treatment, instruction in first and/or second language, is more important than language proficiency. Language treatment during the instructional year plays a significant role in reading achievement gains students evidence at the end of the year. In this study, Spanish-speaking primary students who entered school with different levels of English and Spanish proficiency were given different educational treatments in reading instruction. The students with moderate knowledge of English were provided instruction in English and Spanish, while students who were still Spanish dominant,

but who were judged to be the most advanced in English, received reading instruction in English only. Students who had little English ability and who were also less fluent than the rest in Spanish received instruction in Spanish only. By the end of the school year, third-grade students who received reading instruction in both languages were achieving at the same level as those who received instruction in English only, even though they began the school year at a significantly lower level of English achievement.

The relationship of language and intelligence/academic achievement

The body of research on the theoretical perspective of the relationship of language acquisition and cognitive development is reviewed by Rice (1980), who places the research findings on a continuum. At one extreme she finds language and cognition independent of each other, in the mid area there is agreement that language development is interdependent on cognitive development, and at the opposite end that cognition is dependent on language development. She concludes that each theory seems to explain some phenomena of language acquisition, but that no one theory accounts for all the complexities of children's language performance or the relationship of language and intelligence.

Language, according to Halliday (1978), performs four basic functions. It interprets the entirety of human experience, expresses logical relationships, identifies speakers and societal roles, and relates what is being said to the context of the speech event. In reviewing the work of Bernstein, Halliday finds that the process of becoming educated requires that meaning must develop along certain lines of cultural content,

especially in relationship to the child's exploration of the environment and the child's part in it, ". . . certain ways of organizing experience through language and participating and interacting with people and things are necessary to success in school" (Halliday, 1978, p. 26).

Oller (1979) believes that the acquisition of language proficiency is more fundamental to the acquisition and storage of knowledge than most linguists, psychologists, and educators realize. He hypothesizes that what is measured by achievement tests is also measured by tests of language proficiency.

While Cummins agrees with Oller's premise of the underlying relationship between language and achievement, Cummins divides language proficiency into two educational constructs: language which one uses to relate to others in everyday life, Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS), and language which requires an understanding of deeper meaning, Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP). Cummins' studies (1980, 1981) indicate that students master BICS in about 2 years after immersion in a new language environment, but that 5 to 7 years is required for mastery of CALP. Age of arrival and length of residence are important factors in achieving language proficiency at either the BICS or CALP level. While some tests of language proficiency may test the global language proficiency, as Oller suggests, Cummins (1980) finds that most language proficiency tests used in determining the entry and exit criteria for bilingual programs are based on BICS rather than CALP. When students have been exited from bilingual programs because they have achieved linguistic proficiency

but are unable to learn in the regular classroom setting, they are frequently diagnosed as being mentally, rather than linguistically, deficient.

Oller (1980) believes that the state of the art in linguistic proficiency testing has not progressed sufficiently to determine definitely "whether deep language ability and intelligence are really distinct" (p. 134). He further states that, "existing literature on testing suggests that any ordinary test of language proficiency is strongly correlated with general intelligence" (p. 134), and that it is doubtful whether a language proficiency test of BICS could be constructed that would not involve some form of CALP. Cummins' (1980) states that individual differences account for some aspects of the way the BICS and CALP aspects are acquired, but that individual differences in CALP are strongly related to academic achievement, while individual differences in BICS are not.

Cummins (1981) finds that current theories of communicative competence have not taken into consideration such critical issues as developmental perspective, contexts of language use, and the relationship between the skills achieved in the first language and the acquisition of second language skills.

The relationship of first language proficiency to second language acquisition

Of major importance in second language acquisition theory is Cummins' (1980) hypothesis of Common Underlying Proficiency, CUP, as opposed to Separate Underlying Proficiency, SUP. Cummins believes that the ". . . 'common sense' assumptions of the SUP model get expressed

at a policy level" (p. 50). Cummins points out a pattern of results in hundreds of evaluations of bilingual programs as evidence of the common underlying proficiency of language acquisition. He further points to his correlational study (1979) of first and second languages as evidence in support of the CUP theory in terms of academic skill. BICS are not so easily transferred across languages. Age of entrance into the second language learning environment also affects speed and amount of transfer, with older children mastering second language morphology and syntax skills, the skills taught at school, more quickly than younger children. Younger children have an advantage in phonology, essentially a BICS area of language proficiency. Of importance here is the fact that students had mastered the second language sufficiently to score equally, or nearly equally as well, on both first and second language tests. Cummins (1979) points out the need for empirical investigation of the relationship of first language proficiency and second language acquisition.

Cummins et al. (in press) conclude after researching dissimilar populations of Japanese and Vietnamese students that first language ". . . cognitive/academic proficiency accounted for a highly significant proportion of variance in L₂ (second language) cognitive/academic proficiency, as predicted by the interdependence hypothesis" (p. 32). Older Japanese students continued to develop first language cognitive/academic skills to a greater degree than younger Japanese children in the study. According to the researchers (Cummins et al., in press), their recent work has been exploratory but has allowed them to conceptualize the interdependence theory (of the relationship of first language

proficiency and second language proficiency) on a broader framework than had previously been theorized. Cummins et al. (in press) view the interactional style which bilinguals display as interdependent, but mediated by what they term as "personality attributes" of the individual. What was not considered in this research was the mediating affect of culture or cultural expectations for language acquisition.

Cummins et al. (in press) find that first language proficiency is related to second language acquisition in a variety of ways. Of interest here is the finding that what children bring to the language learning situation is more important than their actual experiences in learning the language. Interactional style, relating information and responding to questions, is interdependent across languages. First language cognitive/academic maturity (Cummins' CALP) greatly influences the speed with which cognitive/academic skills are acquired in the second.

Summary of Important Findings in Ethnography and Sociolinguistics in Second Language Acquisition

Bilingual education in the U.S. during the past 2 decades is the result of the Civil Rights movement and other supporting actions by minorities seeking equal educational opportunities. These groups have not been as successful as the majority group in the U.S., in part, because of differences in language and culture.

Culture has come to be identified with two separate concepts: shared ways of knowing or behaving that are acceptable by the cultural group (Goodenough, 1964; Hansen, 1979; Herskovits, 1964) and the identification of cultural artifacts as symbols of culture (Guthrie & Hall, 1981).

The educational ethnographer's task is to sort through the highly visible elements of cultural differences found in the school setting and interpret the subtle, but highly significant way that participants view events so those interested in the research can understand (Geertz, 1973; Wolcott, 1980).

The second part of this section reviewed research on sociolinguistics and second language acquisition. Under natural learning conditions the process of learning a second language is much like learning the first. However, adults and teenagers learn the school-instructed elements of language much faster than younger children (Ervin-Tripp, 1978). Adults are more conscious of grammar (Krashen, 1978). The social setting is an important motivating factor (Fillmore, 1976) in second language learning. Adults who feel psychologically or socially distant from the speakers of the target language learn the language much more slowly, if at all (Schumann, 1978). The political position of the language in relationship to the learners is very important (Edelsky & Hudelson, 1980). Troike (1981) and Cummins (1981) emphasize the need to break down social and cultural barriers to facilitate second language learning.

Canale (in press) presents a framework for defining communicative proficiency. Damico et al. (1981) believe pragmatic and surface-oriented criteria are important. Burt and Dulay (1978) emphasize the need for distinguishing between naturalistic and linguistically manipulative tasks. Rodriguez-Brown (1979) finds that educational treatments greatly influence educational achievements on measures of reading.

In reviewing the relationship of language to intelligence as measured by academic achievement, Rice (1980) finds that research supports a broad range of theoretical positions from no relationship between the two to the position that language and intelligence measures are the same. Cummins (1980) differentiates between the linguistic skills needed for interpersonal communication and those needed for academic achievement.

Of most importance is Cummins' (1980) interdependence theory based on the theoretical model of common underlying proficiency as opposed to separate underlying proficiency. He believes that much educational policy is a result of the mistaken belief that different languages are organized in the brain in separate repositories, but that as counter-intuitive as it may at first appear, language is a common construct with separate manifestations by individual language. Cummins et al. (in press) find that the cognitive/academic aspects of language are highly transferable across languages. The transfer of language skills across languages is mediated by individual variables that Cummins et al. (in press) label personality attributes. This most recent work of Cummins and his research partners has been theoretically generative. Much more empirical research is needed in order to formulate theory based on grounded data.

Immigrants in the United States

Insights gained from research on immigrant adaptation and assimilation to life in the U.S. have many theoretical as well as practical implications. Studying the process of adaptation and acculturation of immigrants in general can be insightful in understanding

the experiences of the recent Cuban immigrants in the U.S. The process of acculturation is affected by and affects the rate which immigrants learn English. A closer look at this process provides important background information necessary for understanding the research population.

Sassen-Koob (1979) believes that investigating a particular immigrant group is a necessary step in the more general task of understanding assimilation and acculturation. "It is then possible to move from the particular back to the analytical as a means of formulating general propositions rooted in the actual historical experience of the immigrant groups" (p. 314). The reverse process can also be utilized to understand specific groups, by understanding the patterns by which larger masses have established themselves in this land of immigrants.

Accommodation, Adaptation, and Assimilation

Richmond (1973) provides an extensive review of the literature on immigrant adaptation in which she examines definitions of accommodation and acculturation. Accommodation occurs when the immigrant changes behavior simply to avoid or reduce the likelihood of conflict. Acculturation results in a change in behavior over a period of time as two different cultures come in contact. Changes occur based on newly acquired knowledge and understanding. Acculturation is often, but not always, the first step in the process of assimilation. The amount of acculturation which a person or a group experiences is frequently, but not always, in direct relationship to the length of time in residence in the host country and the extent of interaction

with members of the core culture within the host society. Adaptation is an intermediate step between the use of accommodating behavior to avoid problems and the initial stages of assimilation.

The terms acculturation and assimilation are sometimes used to mean the same or nearly the same process. According to Gordon (1964), "assimilation" means total, even physical blending, while "acculturation" means behavioral, social change. Both terms indicate a process whereby people of different ethnic groups acquire memories, sentiments, and attitudes in common with others of the core culture of the host country. By beginning to share the same experiences and history as a part of their residential experience in the U.S., immigrant groups are incorporated into the common cultural life of this country. Gordon's model of assimilation has seven variables or areas of incorporation. The first variable--culture--is the most obvious. Cultural assimilation is synonymous with what others have called acculturation. Yet acculturation can occur without assimilation. Within the ethnic group there develops a network of organizations and informal social relations which permits and encourages members to remain within the confines of the ethnic group for all their primary relationships and some of their secondary ones. Language as an entity provides a great unifying or separating force which encourages maintenance of ethnic group ties. Rogg and Cooney (1980) point out this strong pull for ethnic identification within the Cuban community they studied. Maintenance of group ethnic identity is useful in lessening the difficulties of culture shock, and for making the adjustment required to live in a different cultural environment. It is also viewed as a source of political power for those who find themselves disenfranchized. Safa (1982) points out

that Cubans have maintained strong ethnic ties in order to wield political power.

Other important variables within Gordon's assimilation model are structural and behavioral assimilation. He distinguishes between the two by indicating that behavioral assimilation occurs when the ethnic group or individual takes on the behavioral characteristics and norms of the host or core culture. Structural assimilation occurs when there is socioeconomic equality between the migrants and members of the majority culture. When structural and behavioral assimilation occur, all other variables of assimilation follow (Gordon, 1964).

One of Gordon's major contributions to the theoretical construct of assimilation is his work with social class as opposed to ethnic class associations. Stratification based on ethnicity is intersected by stratification based on social class and results in a group which he terms "ethclass." Theoretically, ethnic groups could contain the whole spectrum of socioeconomic classes. In reality, there is only a partial distribution of socioeconomic subgroups in each specific ethnic group. Gordon asserts at midcentury that social class similarities are more important than ethnic group differences. Social participation in primary groups is confined to social class segments of one's own ethnic group. With a person of the same social class, but different ethnic group, one shares behavioral similarities but not a sense of peoplehood. With those of the same ethnic group but of a different social class, one shares a sense of peoplehood but not behavioral similarities (Gordon, 1964).

According to Richmond, the immigrant reference group is usually the group with whom the newly arrived immigrant shares common perspectives and defines situations in common. The normative reference group is the original socializing source, the group with whom the individual or newly arrived group aspires to associate or emulate. This normative group provides the newcomer with new categories of self-identification and meaningful role models. The comparative reference group is that group which influences the individual or subgroup in the process of self or group evaluation and which conveys attitudes of relative status or deprivation. The reference groups are important in providing orientation to the newly arrived and to further their efforts in adapting to the host culture.

The Role of Culture in Assimilation

Gordon (1964) views culture as the social heritage of a particular group or of people in general. It is the ways of acting and the ways of doing things which are passed down from one generation to the next by formal and informal methods of teaching and doing. Culture can also be considered as prescribed ways of behaving, norms of conduct, values, skills and behavioral patterns, a social heritage or way of life of a particular society.

Ethnic group identification

Sowell (1978) finds that certain ethnic groups have within their group consciousness or culture, specific characteristics which enable them to adapt more easily to some specific life styles, some types of

work, or some living environments and to have difficulty adjusting to others. In testing children, he found that children from higher socioeconomic levels within the same ethnic group simply repeat the same patterns of behavior, only on a more sophisticated level than patterns produced by children from lower economic levels within the same group. With added instruction, test familiarity, and familiarity with the testing environment, patterns change to become more like those of the general population. This added instruction could be considered a form of acculturation.

Ethnic groups are often found exhibiting various degrees of acculturation, as might be visualized by concentric rings radiating from urban center areas to suburbia. Various segments of the same group may engage in mutual recrimination over the different degrees to which they exhibit acculturation tendencies. For example, some Mexican-Americans today express resentment toward those among them who seem to be becoming Anglo, while disdaining new arrivals from Mexico (Sowell, 1981). There is a greater pervasiveness of diversity, or division of ethnicity, within an ethnic group than may be apparent to the uninitiated. Black Caribbeans and black Africans do not readily identify with blacks in the U.S. Italians in the U.S. frequently maintain mutual associations with other Italians from the same region of Italy and are often intolerant of Italians from other parts of Italy (Sowell, 1981).

Sassen-Koob's work (1979) with informal and formal ethnic group associations among Colombians and Dominicans in New York reveals that these associations are made predominantly along class or socioeconomic lines. The Dominicans' associations are made up of working class

people whose purpose for associating is primarily recreational, while the Colombian associations are primarily made up of the middle class whose purpose for associating is instrumental in achieving political and economic objectives. The disparity between the culture of the home country and that of the current residence is also an important factor in encouraging the formation of associations. These associations provide individual members with collective ways of drawing on their previous experiences to confront new life situations. The transition from a recreational association to an instrumental association gives the push toward forging new links with the host society and results in the pulling away of working class members who do not appear to be interested in this type of association or who do not view it as beneficial.

In tracing Dominican family networks within the Dominican Republic and New York, Garrison and Weiss (1979) determine that the "decisions to migrate and responses to the difficulties of urban life are frequently made with both the needs and resources of the kin in mind" (pp. 264-265). The definitions of kin are not the same for the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service and the Dominicans. The Dominicans consider themselves to have extended, cooperating family structures. While loyalty to consanguineous relations is considered important, cross-generational cooperation and interdependence outside of consanguineous lines are also used to define family structure for the Dominicans.

Wilson and Portes (1980) document the development of Cuban immigrant enclaves whose work organization functions differently from that of immigrants who follow the classic pattern of assimilation or

those who enter already developed secondary labor markets. The immigrant enclaves may hasten one aspect of the assimilation process while retarding another. Over the past century, views and value judgments regarding assimilation have changed. Gordon (1964) finds that during the 1800s there was a strong political push for immigrants to take on the perspectives of the dominant culture: white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant. That movement gave way to the Melting Pot theory which was strong from the 1920s to the 1950s and still persists today (see Arndorfer, 1982). According to that theory, the U.S. is made up of a number of immigrant groups who have all contributed cultural characteristics which make the U.S. culture a blend of many different groups. The net effect of the two theories is that the immigrants must change to become like the host culture, the second one being a somewhat modified version of the first in that the host culture is also in the process of changing to become slightly more like that of the immigrants. Many scholars and ethnic leaders have called for the acceptance of cultural pluralism (Dinnerstein, Nichols, & Reimers, 1976; Gordon, 1964; Safa, 1982). Binder (1979) writes that the U.S. is no mythic, multicultural melting pot and does itself no good in expecting or forcing total assimilation. Kessler-Harris and Yans-McLaughlin (1978) find that in the third generation, the immigrant group begins to seek to regain ethnic identity lost by their parents and grandparents in the process of assimilation.

Conflict Perspective

Portes (1969) was one of the first to point out the fallacy of assuming that immigrants necessarily want to become acculturated to

life in the U.S. He suggests the need for reconsidering the belief that immigrants or foreign minorities are strongly motivated to ". . . integrate as much and as fast as possible to the dominant cultural patterns" (p. 505).

In reviewing previous research on immigrants in the U.S., Portes, Parker, and Cobas (1980) find that up to recent times immigrant studies have reflected a sociological perspective of adaptation to the host culture. This body of research has developed into what is termed the "theory of assimilation." Whether the immigrants eventually adapt to the host culture is not questioned. Most works document the length of time and the psychological transition through which immigrants must pass to acculturate to majority status. This transition is commonly viewed as a patterned sequence that moved from cultural dissimilarity to eventual acceptance. Bach (1978) labels these studies collectively as "the assimilation perspective" because they focus on the process of consensus building among dissimilar populations. The assimilation perspective is built on several assumptions: that as immigrants become better educated, their behavior becomes more reflective of the host culture, and they are able to obtain higher status and more profitable employment. Thus, education is a status building element in the acculturation process. The lack of education can be seen to have the reverse effect. Since public education is free and available to everyone, lack of assimilation indicates slothfulness, ignorance, and even an unpatriotic attitude toward the host culture and language. Essential within the assimilation

perspective is the belief that increased contact with the mainstream culture and greater social and economic mobility will lead to a lessening of discrimination toward immigrants and a more favorable assessment of U.S. society. Portes et al. (1980) suggest that the assimilation perspective also incorporates the notion of bountiful economic opportunities and reward in accord with individual effort--myths that promote social control.

The conflict perspective finds that immigrants have not necessarily come to the U.S. in search for a better life, ". . . their movement was often deliberately induced to fulfill labor needs in an expanding economy" (Portes et al., 1980, p. 203). Many immigrants have difficulty moving from the peripheral labor force into the mainstream and thus their expectations may be in conflict with reality. More education, familiarity with the language, and mainstream culture do not necessarily enable or encourage the immigrant to become more integrated into mainstream society. Increased education and ability to speak the language sometimes provide immigrants with negative experiences and confirm the realities of discrimination, according to Portes et al. (1980). The difficulties of discrimination arise from several causes: the majority of recent immigrants come from Third World countries instead of Northern European countries as did previous cohorts of immigrants who were able to assimilate more readily than recent immigrants. The plentifulness of jobs requiring effort but little technical skill has changed; the labor market is demanding more skilled workers for all but the most menial tasks. Studying Cuban acculturation, Portes et al. (1980) conclude that as immigrants become familiar with the host language and endorse its cultural values, they become more skeptical regarding their place within the economic and social order. The socialization process does not lead to integration

and consensus building, but sometimes to an awareness of the need for ethnic solidarity for mutual protection from a hostile culture (for similar studies see Baskauskas, 1981, for Lithuanians and Haines, Rutherford, & Parker, 1981, for Vietnamese).

Portes, McLeod, and Parker (1978) conclude from their work with immigrant Cubans and Mexicans that contrary to popular stereotypes, immigrant aspirations, ". . . are neither flights of fantasy nor the product of purely subjective ambition" (p. 260). Aspirations are based on past experiences and achievements, and the understanding of the skills which the immigrants have and perceive as needed by the host culture.

Some ethnic groups have not found it necessary to acculturate or learn English to be successful in the U.S. Only when a group lacks skills or entrepreneurship and depends on the dominant culture for employment, is learning the language and culture of the dominant society important (Sowell, 1981). Portes' (1980) findings substantiate Sowell's opinion regarding acculturation and English acquisition by showing that the entrepreneurship of the Cubans has allowed for considerable economic mobility within the first generation, even among those with limited English fluency. Both Portes and Sowell point out that the phenomena of entrepreneurship has also occurred within geographic regions populated by high concentrations of other ethnic groups such as the Japanese, Jews, and Germans.

Emotional Adjustment

Baskauskas (1981) finds that few studies have attempted to explore the complex emotional state of the immigrant during the process

of acculturation. This researcher believes the expression of grief to be an integral part of the process of adjustment to the host culture. To adapt, the immigrant has to overcome the impulse to try to restore the past. A major blocking factor in adjustment is the failure to fully realize the departure is final. The inability to surrender the past conjures up feelings of unreality and sometimes marked irritability and apathy. Returning to the home country after a long absence can also be traumatic. The memories which have been harbored for so long are exchanged for the realization that the immigrants who left are not like those who stayed behind, nor quite like a member of the host society either.

Cohon (1981) finds two stages to adjustment to the new host culture. First, there is a feeling of euphoria at being free of previous problems. Slowly, the immigrant realizes the differences in culture and becomes aware of the loss of the past. The past is then idealized. As this awareness continues, the immigrant may experience paranoia, hypochondria, anxiety, and depression. The immigrant frequently experiences impairment of interpersonal skills and contradictory tendencies to withdraw and to relate to people. During this period there is a reorientation of values influenced by the internalization of the original value system--a function of individual age.

Little attention has been given to the process of adaptation and assimilation as it is experienced by women and children, although women are typically viewed as adapting most slowly, and children most quickly, to new language and culture patterns. In studying Portuguese female immigrants, Smith (1980) finds they personify "marginal man," the person

not integrated into society, more than the male counterparts of the same cohort. The female is more dependent on maintaining ties with the ethnic social group in order to obtain information and emotional and material support. This dependence makes it more difficult to establish and maintain ties in the new culture. What appears to be female reluctance to integrate, learn the new language, and new behavior patterns, is in reality the mechanism of female immigrant survival system. The female must tread a thin line not to appear too integrated and uncaring about former relationships while slowly developing new associations. Too much or too little commitment can leave the female with no social support system, according to Smith (1980).

The reception of the host society and the establishment of an immigrant enclave can be a very important part of adjustment for young people. Host children's receptive behavior can provide a buffer from isolation for the new, young newcomers. Rejection can cause further chaos. Group identity, or the lack of it, can make a difference between certainty and confusion for the child, as it does for the adult, and can influence the language learning process (Huyck & Fields, 1981).

Summary on Immigrants in the United States

This section has reviewed research on accommodation, adaptation, and assimilation, and differentiates between behavior which distinguishes accommodation as a process of avoiding problems, and assimilation as a process of taking on the cultural patterns of the host country. Adaptation is an intermediary stage between the two (Gordon, 1964; Richmond, 1973). Culture plays a critical role in assimilation,

while most research has been based on the assumption that immigrants sought to become integrated into the majority culture. Bach (1978) and Portes et al. (1980) present the conflict perspective theory. They cite as examples groups such as the Cubans who prefer to remain as ethnic enclaves to avoid discrimination and increase social and political status. Emotional adjustment and host reception are very important factors in the adaptational/assimilation process. Little work has been done on the differences which women and children experience in this process. Women have been viewed as typically the last to acculturate. Little research exists on the causes of this tardiness. Smith's (1980) work provides some provocative ideas regarding the females' need to maintain traditional support networks for survival in the new culture.

The Metamorphosis from Cubans to Cuban-Americans

In surveying the available literature on Cubans in the U.S., Casal and Hernandez find in 1975 that ". . . a sizeable bibliography on Cuban exiles has accumulated over the last 15 years. What is surprising is that most of it remains--because of limited accessibility--almost 'underground'" (p. 25). Eliminating popular books and articles, they found 163 nonduplicated entries, of which 1% were scholarly books of wide distribution, 25% were articles appearing in academic journals or government publications, and 19% were master's or doctoral theses. Over half of their bibliography was limited edition reports and special articles. Llanes' bibliography (1982), one of the most extensive to be published recently, listed 152 entries, 20% from esoteric, not widely distributed sources. While it is beyond the scope of this research to locate all articles and books on Cubans

in the U.S. that might be available in 1983, it appears that the quantity has increased, but not greatly, since the Casal and Hernandez' (1975) survey.

Demography

The U.S. Department of Commerce (1981) estimates there are 14.6 million persons of Spanish origin in the U.S. Ehrlichman (1982) believes the total to be more than 15 million. All reports on population statistics conclude that Hispanics are now the most rapidly growing ethnic group, and that by the turn of the century their population in this country is expected to double.

In terms of primary language background, the number of non-English-speaking persons is expected to increase from the 28 million counted in 1976 to about 40 million by the year 2000. The Spanish-speaking portion of this massive group of persons is expected to increase in actual numbers and percentage of the group from 10.6 million or 38% in 1976, to 18.2 million or 46% in 2000, according to Oxford, Pol, Lopez, Stupp, Gendell, and Peng (1981). These authors point out the implications for educational planning are great in terms of meeting the needs of the non-English- and limited English-speaking students.

Florida has the fourth largest Hispanic population in the U.S. (Fratoe, 1981) and the numbers continue to grow, not only from continued migration from South and Central America and the Caribbean, but from the internal migration of Cubans who return to Florida as a place of resettlement after initial location in other sections of the country. Only three states have a lower percentage of native born residents than

Florida with its 31% native born. Eleven percent of Florida residents are foreign born, an amount that has doubled twice in the past two decades. This 11% count is conservative in that it does not count the number of children born in the U.S. to foreign-born, recently arrived immigrants. The foreign-born population is concentrated in three major metropolitan areas of the state--Miami, Ft. Lauderdale, and Tampa--where more than 75% live. The Hispanic population in Florida has increased from 1.6% of the total population in 1960 to 8.8% in 1980. When the 1980 Cuban immigrants are included, it is estimated that Hispanics will account for more than 10% of Florida's population. About 55% of the Hispanics are Cubans who were, therefore, about 5% of Florida's total population in 1980 (McCoy & Gonzalez, 1982). Much of the data from the 1980 census are still in the process of being released and do not reflect the Cubans who arrived in 1980.

Diaz (1980) finds that Cuban immigrants in the U.S. have two characteristics not shared with most other U.S. ethnic groups: their immigration was motivated by a different set of factors and most--about 80%--of the present population was foreign born, or still first generation ethnics, facing all the problems traditionally faced by those adjusting to U.S. culture. Compared with the Hispanic group as a whole, the Cubans are older, with a smaller proportion of young people (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1981). There are two causes for this difference: Cubans have a lower fertility rate than other Hispanic groups and a large group of older Cubans immigrated during the late 1960s and early 1970s. The Cuban group is most like the U.S. population as a whole in a variety of measures such as age and income. The median Cuban family income--\$17,500--most closely resembles that of families not of Spanish origin,

and is \$2,000 more than the next Spanish-speaking group (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1981). According to the Heritage Foundation (1980), Cubans and South and Central Americans have more successfully entered the economic mainstream within the U.S. than have other Spanish-speaking groups. They have obtained a greater percentage of well-paid managerial professional positions within a number of different industries and labor segments of the work force than have other Spanish-speaking groups.

Stages of Emigration

During the past 24 years, the leadership within the U.S. government has changed seven times, while that in Cuba has remained the same. Starting with Castro's takeover in January 1959, there have been six different stages of Cuban immigration--three peaks and three lulls. These different stages reflect, in some ways, according to Clark (1982), the political and economic events occurring within Cuba.

The massive migration which began shortly before Castro's takeover belies the fact that the Revolution had the support of all levels of the population (Bender, 1973; Portes, 1969). The Early Departure Stage--January 1959 to October 1962--was the time that most of the wealthy and educated Cubans left the island, although not all who left at that time were wealthy or well educated. Those who had pre-established ties with the U.S. were the first to find the Revolution not to their liking and left.

The second stage--the Post Missile Crisis Lull, from October 22, 1962 to September 28, 1965--occurred when direct transportation between the two countries was cancelled as a result of the Cuban Missile Crisis.

Immigration again commenced during the Family Reunion period--September 28, 1965 to April 6, 1973--when Castro announced that exiles could pick up their relatives at the port of Camarioca. This flotilla immigration continued through November of 1965 when the boat trips were halted by the U.S. government. In mid-December of that year the Freedom Flights air lift began. Although it has been said that the Cubans were allowed to emigrate for humanitarian reasons, according to Clark (1977), Cubans were allowed to leave as a means of motivating them to work. Only those who had spent considerable time cutting cane, often from 3 to 5 years, received permission to leave. The second cohort included a much larger number of blue collar workers, as well as the elderly, infirm, and handicapped, than did the previous wave.

The cessation of the Freedom Flights marked the beginning of the second wane and the fourth stage in immigration. Anyone wanting to enter the U.S. had to do so by way of a third country. This second lull continued until the Freedom Flotilla began from Mariel Harbor in 1980. We are now in the sixth stage and third lull in Cuban immigration. Clark (1977) points out that since the Revolution there have always been people trying to leave Cuba for the U.S. and that about 16,000 have tried to leave by illegal means such as small boats and rafts.

Reasons for Immigration

Clark, Lasagna, and Reque (1981) point out that as the Cuban Revolution continued, the dissatisfaction which the people felt when their ideals were not met also increased. This dissatisfaction

encouraged great numbers of blue collar workers to emigrate until now the population in the U.S. is representative of the population on the island in terms of socio-economic and racial distribution.

Regarding the motivations prompting the migration, Clark (1977) states there are two: political and economic. The two are so closely intertwined that it is difficult to distinguish between them. If the government requires extensive "voluntary" labor to retain one's present job, is it politics or economics that motivates a person to leave not only the job but the country? A statement made by a man who left in 1964 sums up the feelings of many: "There came a time in my life when nothing else mattered but freedom. It is so valuable, so precious, one really has to lose it to understand its value and its true meaning."

Although it may appear to be paradoxical since Cuba calls itself "El primer territorio libre en las Americas" (The first free country in the Americas), the desire for freedom seems to be the predominant motivation for emigration from Cuba to the U.S. There are several interpretations of this motivation. For example, in studying the Early Departure families, Gibboney (1967) finds the parents' concern for their children's education and future the reason most given for leaving. Freedom appears to be defined by this group as the ability to make one's own choices or the ability for self-determination. In reviewing the causes for migration, Casal and Hernandez (1975) conclude that pragmatic factors are more important than ideological ones. They believe that over time, as the composition of the migratory population changed, so too, did the motivation for leaving. However, the 1977 work of Portes, Clark, and Bach indicates 97% of the immigrants came to the

U.S. because of their desire for freedom. Here the definition appears to be similar to that of 1967. Also important for this group was the ability to act without restriction. For these Cubans, long-term considerations were more important than short-term factors such as the scarcity of consumer goods.

Moreno Fraginals (1982) sees the scarcity of consumer goods as a debilitating factor for the Cuban Revolution and as the major force in motivating the lower economic sector to emigrate. After the Revolution, the poor had high expectations in terms of their ability to obtain consumer goods. Those who had these goods prior to the Revolution have found it easier to do without, while those who have never had them are impatient.

Indicators of Integration Within U.S. Social and Economic Systems

The socioeconomic structure of the Cuban immigration has changed a great deal over the 24 years of immigration. As has been indicated, the first to leave were the wealthy, the professionals, the well educated, and those familiar with the U.S.'s social and economic systems. They were the leaders in organizing the economic base which the Cuban-Americans have established in the U.S. (Campbell, 1976; Fagen, Brody, & O'Leary, 1968). Yet not all of these well-educated people have been able to utilize their skills to the fullest. Many have experienced extensive downward occupational mobility in the U.S. (Moncarz, 1973; Rogg, 1974). Over time, there has not been massive upward occupational mobility, indicating there is an under-utilization of Cuban skills and resources in the U.S. (Moncarz, 1978; Rogg &

Cooney, 1980). Portes (1969) points out the fallacy of assuming immigrants necessarily want to become integrated into mainstream culture and society. In his initial studies of Cubans, he finds the Early Departure Stage immigrants did not suffer from the problems of hostility and rejection which other immigrant groups have faced. Yet, many did not integrate rapidly. Failure to integrate is strongly connected to idealization of previous ways of life and the expectation of returning "home" to Cuba. It is also the result of limited access to economic and social mobility. Portes (1969) reports that those professionals who were able to establish themselves with employment similar to the level they held in Cuba were also the Cubans who were most readily assimilated into U.S. society.

When the first groups of Cubans came to the U.S. after the Revolution, they lived out of their suitcases because they were certain they would be going back soon. As the days turned into weeks, the weeks into months, and the months into years, slowly, these Cubans realized they were not returning right away. They began to purchase homes and establish themselves within the Miami community. It took them a long time to realize that they needed to become established there (Martinez, 1982g).

Wilson and Portes (1980) analyze the factors which are relevant in the emergence of Cuban immigrants into the U.S. labor market and find that, in addition to merging with the mainstream labor force or providing labor for a secondary labor force operating in the margins of the mainstream, the Cuban-Americans have established enclaves of separate socioeconomic power. They have been able to develop these enclaves

through the interplay of several factors: investment capital and managerial skills, sustained immigration which renews and expands the labor force, and a demand for products and services from a language and culture population similar to their own, but different from that of the host culture. The barriers which prevent immigrants from moving into the mainstream economy promote ethnic affinities within the enclave and work to cement ties of solidarity.

Diaz' (1981) work contrasts with that of Portes and Wilson (1980). He finds that the Cubans in south Florida are integrating into the mainstream culture and labor force with remarkable speed. He suggests that a variety of measures be used to observe the patterns of social integration. His research indicates that the majority of Cubans in the work force do not work for Cuban employers, and suggests that "whatever entrepreneurship Miami Cubans have shown, it is in keeping with prescribed goals and values of the host society and thus a positive sign of social integration" (p. 7). While he does not deny there exists a "ghetto economy" which acts as a deterrent for learning English or integrating into the host culture, he cites naturalization indices as a counterindicator of social integration. During the decade of the 1960s, the number of Cubans who became U.S. citizens increased ninefold and the numbers have continued to remain high for the decade of the 1970s. Although Cubans have accepted U.S. holiday celebrations, they have kept their own customs, many of which are dying out on the island. Even though Spanish is spoken at home and reinforced through the media, more than 80% of the Cuban children attend public school where they will learn English. Diaz (1980) considers school enrollment an additional indicator of the desire which Cuban-Americans display for social

integration. Diaz (1981) agrees with Rogg and Cooney (1980) that the residents in the host country play an important role in the integration of immigrants. If the local residents are themselves supportive, then integration will be more rapid. If the residents are hostile and, for example, move away when Cubans move into a neighborhood, then the process of social integration is retarded.

Gallagher (1974) reviews statistics on crime in Dade County, Florida, and finds that Cuban-Americans were very underrepresented in all counts except reckless driving. He does, however, observe an increase in crime within the Cuban-American community over the decade of the 1960s. Gonzalez and McCoy's (1980) findings were similar; they attribute increases in crime to drug trafficking and overcrowded living conditions. Arguelles (1981) finds that Dade County is the center of right-wing terrorism and a vast drug trafficking network masked by an idealistic facade that gives the appearance that Cubans are well established in the community. Alexander (1970) and the Heritage Foundation (1980) conclude that in spite of the fact that Cuban-Americans are resented and unwanted by some elements in Miami, they have nevertheless established a good reputation as being law abiding, ambitious, and strongly family oriented.

Transcending Ties with the Past

It is interesting to observe that some of the same behaviors which Smith (1968) documents as occurring within the Cuban-American group which arrived in the 1960s have also been documented by Rogg and Cooney (1980) as occurring in the 1970s. Smith finds in his work with

the Early Departure immigrants that these newly arrived immigrants manifested a strong desire to retain the culture of the island they left, because they anticipated returning again within a short time, as soon as the government had changed. "Girls and boys are strictly chaperoned, social events are structured by close observance of etiquette, and constant reference is made to 'the way things are done at home'" (p. 123), meaning Cuba. When this group began arriving in Tampa, they were at first greeted with hearty welcomes. Within a short time, they were considered "different." Resentment spread as the already established Cuban-Americans were portrayed as provincials by the new arrivals, and the new arrivals were looked on as always talking about the way things used to be in Cuba. Even today, Cuban-Americans refer to themselves as "la gente de los tubos" (the people of the tubes), a play on words using the word "tubo" which sounds like "tuvo" meaning "he or she used to have." The new arrivals, who have since become Cuban-Americans themselves, were seen as people who talked about how good everything used to be and how much they used to have in Cuba.

Cultural patterns

Cuban-Americans are still concerned about their children's welfare, as Gibboney (1967) and Smith (1968) indicate. Rogg and Cooney (1980) find that Cuban-American parents believe U.S. children have too much freedom. Rogg's 1974 study finds 84% of parents in her metropolitan research area believe chaperoning girls on dates to be very important; in studying the same population 10 years later, Rogg and Cooney (1980) conclude that although 15% less Cuban-Americans believe chaperoning is

important, nevertheless, the majority of the community continue to believe strongly in the custom.

Cuban-Americans are still striving for economic success and social acceptance and are fearful of anything that may impede their progress. "Each new wave of Cubans arriving in the U.S. has been traditionally accused of being composed of persons who accepted communism as a way of life. This is a cross which all new refugees have had to bear. . . ." (Gonzalez & McCoy, 1980, p. 6). Although each wave of immigrants has had to adjust to the opinions which already established Cuban-Americans have held about it, the Cuban-American community has been instrumental in enabling the newly arrived to adapt to life in the U.S. Rogg and Cooney (1980) believe that the warmth and hospitality of the community base into which the immigrants enter is also a powerful influence in lessening the trauma of cultural adjustment. They find living in a Spanish-speaking, Cuban-American culture within the U.S. does not appear to inhibit the trend toward assimilation either on the cultural or English language acquisition dimensions.

Patterns of Emotional Adjustment

In his book on Cuban-American survival in the U.S., Llanes (1982) sums up the feelings of many Cuban-Americans with the quotation by a fictitious character, representative of many of the Cuban-Americans he interviewed:

When you lose a limb to an operation, let's say, the body adjusts to the loss gradually, but certainly. The mind may never adjust. So it is with the refugee. The refugee is a "national amputee." He can work and function, procreate and

swear allegiance to a new flag, but his mind may never adjust to the loss of the other life. To what it might have been. To what it can never be.
(p. 109)

Gallagher (1974) sees the exile as living in a schizophrenic state within two worlds. To understand the exile's situation, one must understand the social milieu of immigration.

Sandoval's study (1979) on the use of Santeria, a syncretic system of African and Catholic rituals and beliefs, as a mental health care system, and Wetli and Martinez' (1981) work with Santeria and forensic science, indicate that the reliance on Santeria has not only survived immigration but has increased as an aid in the acculturation process. Sandoval suggests that those in the mental health care field who work with Cuban immigrants and Cuban-Americans should be familiar with Santeria as an auxiliary mental health support system and should work collaboratively with it to provide more effective care for these patients. She finds no conflict between Santeria, which works with the soul, and traditional mental health care which works with the mind.

Mothers and sons

This sense of loss and process of adjustment has received a great deal of attention by those professionals working in the field of mental health within the Dade County area. In studying the acculturation process of Cuban-American adolescent males and the mothers of adolescents, Szapocznik, Scopetta, and Tillman (1977) conclude that there are great intergenerational differences in behavioral acculturation within the Cuban immigrant families with adolescents because the adolescents, especially males, acculturate more rapidly than the older family members.

It is curious that the longer Cuban immigrant mothers in this study lived in the U.S., the more help-seeking and less self-reliant they became. Those mothers who appear to be less acculturated tend to exhibit more neurotic personalities, and those with more neurotic personalities are less acculturated. This neurotic adaptation conflicts even more with the behavior of the adolescent sons, who are also in the process of adjustment and who take on more uninhibited, active, even acting-out behavioral patterns. Szapocznik (1979) finds that frequently as the family problems progress, the members polarize so that the older members embrace a more extreme Hispanic style and the younger members a more exaggerated North American one.

Female Cuban-Americans

Richmond (1973) finds that in order to achieve economic goals Cuban-American housewives have had to enter the labor force. This adjustment from housewife to working mother has been a very stress-producing one for most Cuban immigrant females. Gonzalez and Page (1979) believe prescription drug use is an adaptive strategy to alleviate tension produced by the cumulative clash between the female's socioeconomic status in Cuba and in the U.S. A tradition of self-medication through curative herbs and patent medicines has combined with the addition of prescription tranquilizers to produce within the Cuban immigrant community a drug use system outside the formal patterns of U.S. drug acquisition.

Teenage Cuban-Americans

In studying teenage acculturation and drug use, Page (1980) finds that Cuban immigrant youth are confused by the ambivalent feelings expressed by many North Americans regarding the use of hard drugs and the warnings of Cuban parents that drugs are a terrible vice. Rejection of parental heritage is stress-producing for the youth because they have difficulty reproducing the behaviors they seek to emulate, often finding these behaviors hollow and unfulfilling.

Educational Achievement

A summary report finds that after several years of instruction in Spanish and English, Spanish-origin, predominately Cuban, students participating in bilingual programs were achieving at or above national and local norms on nationally standardized tests (Dade County Public Schools, 1981).

The 1961 study by Rinn indicates that non-Cuban teachers are unaware of Cuban culture. This lack of cultural understanding fosters prejudice and inhibits acculturation among the students. Gomula's work reveals that the teachers she observed in 1973 were unaware of the distinct behavior patterns which Cubans and Anglos exhibited. She enumerates 16 significant behavioral differences in Cuban-American and Anglo elementary school children and recommends that teacher training include methods and materials for identifying and understanding the nonverbal as well as the linguistic communication of these two different cultural groups.

In looking at youngsters within the school setting, Szapocznik, Kurtines, and Fernandez (1980) find that exhibiting a bicultural perspective rather than remaining monocultural enables children to achieve a more effective adjustment to the environment in which they live. When second generation Cuban-American youth overacculturate and give up their Hispanic roots, it is not uncommon for them to become hostile to all authority figures. They may generalize this aggression to the school setting where they may become highly disruptive discipline problems. Underacculturated adolescents may display the opposite behavior, isolating themselves from contact with the "foreign environment"--the U.S. culture. These children appear withdrawn, depressed, and often neurotic in their behavior. The researchers suggest learning sessions would be beneficial for these students. In the sessions students would explore the ethnic values of the Hispanic and North American cultures. They would discuss differences in communication styles and cultural differences and similarities.

English Language Acquisition and Retention of Spanish

Different levels of government assistance have influenced the Cuban assimilation within the labor market and political structure. Hernandez (1974) and Rogg and Cooney (1980) believe that the large segments of the Cuban population experiencing downward occupational mobility and unemployment could be helped by more extensive English-training programs, greater access to apprentice-training programs, and increased financial aid for higher education.

Language appears to be related to the socioeconomic status of Cubans according to Diaz (1980). Those with greater knowledge of English have less unemployment and are more likely to have obtained U.S. citizenship. Lyshkov (1981) sees grandparents living in or near the home of the core family as the principal agents in maintaining Spanish as either the primary or secondary language of the home.

Sole (1980) points out the correlation between economic and social mobility and language shift. For the Cuban-Americans in south Florida the relationship of language maintenance and socioeconomic status is not linear but curvilinear. Children whose parents are in either of the highest or the lowest groups maintain Spanish more often than children whose parents are in the middle income group. The retention of Spanish is not surprising for those children who come from the lower socioeconomic levels, because their parents' position within the labor force requires little competence in English. At the highest occupational levels in south Florida, Latins, who are most frequently Cuban-American, serve their own linguistic community and other Latin American groups. For this reason Cuban-Americans in the higher socioeconomic levels retain their linguistic and cultural ties. Within the Cuban-American community in south Florida, the white collar workers in the middle of the socioeconomic spectrum are the ones who have the most contact with the dominant society. It is within this middle group that Sole finds the most language shift toward English.

Summary of the Metamorphosis of Cubans to Cuban-Americans

A variety of demographic data indicate that the Hispanic population within the U.S. is growing rapidly and that the Cuban-American part of

that minority is becoming an increasingly important subgroup, especially in the state of Florida. Cuban migration to the U.S. has experienced six stages, three lulls and three peaks since it began just prior to the Cuban Revolution of 1959 (Clark, 1982).

The Cuban immigrant experience in the U.S. has been unique in several ways. The first to leave Cuba were the wealthy and well-educated. At first many of this group were reluctant to establish roots because they expected to go back to Cuba as soon as the government changed. When the anticipated change failed to materialize, these Cubans established business relations in the U.S. which enabled them to integrate into the economic and social systems of this country more rapidly than other Hispanic groups. Not all Cubans have made the successful transition to Cuban-Americans, however. They have experienced underemployment and unemployment. Some have preferred to remain in ethnic enclaves (Portes, 1969; Portes et al., 1980) rather than enter mainstream competition. These enclaves are seen as aiding the immigrants in adapting to U.S. culture (Rogg & Cooney, 1980) by providing a place of transition between the two cultures.

There are still problems with acculturation. The older females are seen as the slowest in accepting the cultural patterns of the U.S., while young males are seen as the group that acculturates the most rapidly (Szapocznik, 1979). These differences have brought about inevitable generational conflict. Acquisition of English skills has been difficult for some adults. It is related to the downward occupational mobility experienced by Cuban-Americans (Diaz, 1981). The Dade County School System (1981) reports Cuban-American students are achieving at

or above local and national norms. Spanish retention is related to socioeconomic status also, with the highest and lowest status groups retaining Spanish most frequently (Sole, 1980).

Life in Cuba

The evolution of the Cuban sociopolitical and educational systems over the past 24 years since the Cuban Revolution has caused Cuba to become a very different place from that which the first emigrants left at the inception of the Revolution. In order to understand the 1980 Cuban immigration and the students on whom this study focuses, it is necessary to understand the factors which caused the exodus and some of the elements of the environment in which the students lived before entering the U.S.

Difficulties in Data Collection

It is to be expected that the majority of the Cubans who have chosen to live in exile rather than in their homeland would be negatively biased regarding the Revolution and the current government of Cuba. This research is based on the writings of both the Cubans living in exile, as well as those still living in Cuba, because reports from both groups reveal information on events which have influenced the students who participated in the research.

Montaner (1981) points out that while the objectivity of the Cuban exile is frequently questioned, "the first voices which should be taken into account for an analysis of any historical event are

those of the main actors. An a priori rejection of the player's opinions solely because he forms an integral part of the drama is dangerous" (p. 1).

Although Mesa-Lago's 1969 work points out the unreliability of the statistics on Cuba since the Revolution, his 1979 work indicates a willingness, even a desire, on the part of the Revolutionary statisticians to improve their data collection and dissemination capabilities.

Travel barriers are a problem both in obtaining permission to enter the island, and in having access to a research population. Travel on the island is very limited and extended interaction between a foreign researcher and a typical group of Cubans is unusual. Most foreigners are taken to showcase locations and interview only those who will respond according to government expectations (Mesa-Lago, 1969). Many other authors (Butterworth, 1980; Comin, 1979; Nicholson, 1974) concur on these last points. Mesa-Lago (1969) also states that the government's screening of visitors is a biasing factor for those searching for the truth. He finds that almost all publications either present a very limited amount of information or are strongly biased against or in favor of the revolution. The work of Black et al. (1976) also confirms this bias. The 1980 Cuban immigrants interviewed as part of this research confirm that anyone visiting the island during the past 20 years could not possibly know what life is like there. Butterworth (1980) states that the research he was conducting with Lewis was confiscated and destroyed even though the government had given permission for the work. Statistics from an underdeveloped

communist country are often more of a tool for propaganda in the international ideological struggle than a reflection of reality, according to Mesa-Lago (1969). The problem of living within the shadows of a hostile superpower has exacerbated this problem for the current Cuban government (Fuerst, 1981).

Any review of relevant literature on Cuba, or any collection of interview data must be undertaken and accepted with consideration for the above constraints.

Cultural Change

In reviewing the changes in political ideology in Cuba, Montaner (1981) finds that since the Revolution, "there has been a veritable bombardment of eastern European and Oriental culture" (p. 129), completely foreign to the natural temperament and character of the Cuban people. Two factors, he writes, have caused this deviation from the previous Latin American traditions which Cuba has held: a wish to imitate the Soviet bloc and a desire to erase from Cuban memory all traces of their previous sociocultural surroundings (p. 130).

Montaner's observations can be confirmed, in part, by listening to Cuban radio. The interactions of the communist bloc countries are lauded and Russian language instruction is provided via the air waves. Most Cuban publications include the date of publication and a time marker such as: 1974, "Year of the XV Anniversary"; 1976, "Year of the XX Anniversary of Granma"; or 1977, "Year of the Institutionalization."

Negative image of United States

Montaner continues, "When the U.S. is mentioned, it is done only to talk about its gangsters or its crimes in Vietnam" (1981, p. 130). In all the speeches and pronouncements by Castro, Guevara, and other officials this research reviewed, there was a continuous thread of denunciation of the U.S. in general, and specifically, Yankee imperialism and the blockade. For example, in a 47-page speech which Castro made at the Second Congress of the Federation of Cuban Women (1974), six pages were devoted to the problems caused by the U.S. blockade.

In reviewing Cuban children's literature and reading texts available in the U.S., the constant stream of negativism toward the U.S. is highly visible. In one book designed for very young children, the U.S. is represented by an eagle dropping bombs on the heads of the Cuban people. Another, written for older children, glorifies the "war" of the Playa Giron (Bay of Pigs) and describes in detail the shooting down of U.S. planes. Wald and Bacon (1981) find that while politics do not intrude in the nonpolitical literature books they reviewed, "there is a social point of view in the very air that writers breathe and they cannot help transmitting it" (p. 255). They also find that historical books are definitely political. All books are used to express a spirit of cooperation and to inform children about many cultures and races. Wald and Bacon believe that it is regretful that because of the U.S. blockade, Cuban children are deprived of many good English language books. The negative effects of the U.S. blockade of Cuba is a constantly recurring theme in most publications sympathetic to the Revolution.

Changes in the Educational System

Bowles (1971) believes that the problems which the Cuban Revolution has experienced have been due in large part to the legacy which the Revolution has had to overcome. He lists four main goals for changing the system: to expand the nation's productive capacities which had stagnated for 50 years under capitalism; to eliminate dependence on U.S. and establish interdependence with socialist countries; to eliminate classism, sexism, and racism; to place labor in a higher consciousness of creativity and social consciousness, removed from the objectives of competition and personal reward. All four goals have at the very center a need to completely revolutionize the educational system.

Integration of education into total system

Bowles (1971) quotes Guevara as saying, "To build communism, a new man must be created simultaneously with the material base Society as a whole must become a huge school" (p. 472), and Castro as saying, "Revolution and education are the same thing" (p. 472). According to Bowles, the learning process must be organized and controlled as a group effort, a collective action to achieve a common goal.

All phases of education have the "fundamental function of implanting in students the knowledge, skills, allegiances, and value orientations" (Valdes, 1972, p. 447) that result in building the "new person,"

usually referred to in the masculine, "the new man." Lavan (1967) reviews Guevara's statement that the Revolution needs cadres of new people who are loyal to the government, capable of making the correct dialectical decisions, and of upholding the moral character for which the Revolution stands. "To build communism, you must build new men as well as a new economic base" (Lavan quoting Guevara, 1967, p. 126). To do this, "Society as a whole must be converted into a gigantic school" (Lavan, 1967, p. 127). Lavan continues quoting Guevara,

They (the masses) follow their vanguard, consisting of the party, the advanced workers, the advanced men who walk in unity with the masses and in close communion with them. The reward is the new society in which men will have attained new features: the society of the communist man. (1967, p. 128)

Most of Castro's speeches contain the same ideas about the new man who is, ". . . fully committed to equality, brotherhood, and solidarity, devoid of selfishness and with no need for material incentives, a human being ready to sacrifice and constantly filled with heroism, abnegation, and enthusiasm" (Valdes, 1972, p. 447).

Black et al. (1976) report that the government has accepted the responsibility of providing all Cubans with work at a decent salary, free schooling, and medical care so the people can be free of the tyranny of daily care and dedicate themselves to enhancing the collective prosperity.

Conflicting opinions on educational integration

Montaner (1981) sees this drive toward collectivism from another perspective. He finds that although the government tries to educate everyone through the sixth grade level, and offers secondary school

to most, advanced education is available only for those who are "integrated." The term "integrated" takes on a different connotation from the meaning usually prescribed to it by North American educators. To be "integrated" is to become closely affiliated with the governing group, to become integrated within the organization of the Revolution. For a more complete understanding, carefully consider Guevara's statement as quoted by Levan on page 128, cited on the previous page of this work. Montaner (1981) states that it is no secret,

the high ideological class is the only one which has access to a university education. No matter how brilliant he may be, a "Nonintegrated" young person who does not belong to some revolutionary organization or who is a Protestant or a Catholic--will not have the opportunity to cultivate his talents. (p. 176)

Clark (1977) writes,

Various screening mechanisms operate in such a way that the opportunities for securing a college education for one who is not "integrated" into the revolution are practically nil. For him or her, in this category, it will most likely result in a menial job, regardless of talent. (p. 12)

Clark (1979) continues, "The refinement of control attempts to encompass even the most intimate thought. The student knows that his political attitude is being observed in class and in extracurricular activities" (p. 30). Clark's accounts of the lengthy, detailed investigations of potential university students' background coincide with those of recent immigrants who tell of student investigations at the conclusion of sixth grade. Not only are the teachers and principal questioned, but block leaders of the groups called the "Committee for the Defense of the Revolution," CDR, who are required to supply a great deal of information about the student who aspires

to continue his education. The students tell of having their records "stained" if they do not attend afterschool meetings and summer camps. Clark (1979) concludes that the reality of political discrimination destroys the myth that all Cubans have equal education opportunities.

The initial changes which the Revolution made in transforming the educational system were to implement a system of collective rather than individual study and to minimize individual competition and place it within the framework of collective spirit. The educational system has been extended to include every phase of material production, not only the school system as we know it in the U.S.

The Committee for the Defense of the Revolution (CDR) is responsible for the formation of a socialist perspective within the citizenry.

Through the efforts of the CDR, everyone realizes the importance of the Revolution (Delgado, 1977). One of the major responsibilities of the CDR is the moral upbringing and proper patriotic instruction of the children living in the sector. CDR membership includes almost everyone. CDR members stand 4-hour watches of their sector day and night. They catch thieves, report truants, and generally keep records of everything that happens in their geographic region (Black et al., 1976).

Educational achievements

Evidence from other socialist countries shows that the economic returns for increased schooling are great. Mathematics and technical science have been stressed at all levels of education so that economic production can be increased as rapidly as possible (Bowles, 1971). Until recent times the largest share of the educational budget has

been allocated to primary education. This emphasis on primary literacy and computational skills for the entire nation has slowed the advancement of higher education, but it is believed to be the only equitable way to provide education for all the people and to achieve social equality absent during previous forms of government (Bowles, 1971; Canfux, 1981; Prieto, 1981).

One of the most remarkable achievements of the Cuban Revolution is the National Literacy Campaign of 1961 in which almost everyone in the country learned to read and write, at least functionally (Kozol, 1978; Prieto, 1981). One of the educational programs that followed the National Literacy Campaign is the Battle for the Sixth Grade (Canfux, 1981). Both programs have been highly publicized as remarkable achievements in an underdeveloped country. The two main prongs of the Battle for Sixth Grade are the effort to keep the literate graduates of the Literacy Campaign continuing in the educational process and to provide for workers educational improvement through on-the-job as well as television instruction. According to Butterworth (1980), the adult education program is not as well attended as it might be because adults are required to work long hours and put in additional volunteer work time. He concedes that adults may also invent convenient excuses to avoid conforming to the new system.

The exodus of many skilled workers and professional educators caused a strain on the government's ability to supply teachers and texts (Read, 1972). The principle that "those who know more teach those who know less" (Canfux, 1981, p. 230) was employed to overcome this problem. Nevertheless, the shortage of teachers has been a

serious problem for improving the quality of education (Paulston, 1980). According to Valdes (1972), discipline has been difficult to maintain in many instances because many of the elementary and secondary teachers are very young and inexperienced and quite often do not receive any cooperation from the students. This viewpoint was expressed by many early immigrants, but for the most part, the 1980 entrants believe that the educational system was one of the greatest achievements of the Revolution. Even teachers who had returned to visit Cuba agree that the educational system has greatly improved and is now quite admirable.

Of the Cuban schools, Moreno Franginals (1982) says,

We do have some very good schools. The problem is the overall average is not as good as we would like. We have some outstanding schools in Havana and Santa Clara and other places, but that's not important. What is important is that the overall average is still very low.

The Revolution has incorporated much from the Russian educational system, of which Bronfenbrenner (1970) writes,

Since each child's status depends in part on the standing of the collective of which he is a member, it is to each pupil's enlightened self-interest to watch over his neighbor, encourage the other's good performance and behavior, and help him when he is in difficulty. In this system the children's collective becomes the agent of adult society and the major source of reward and punishment. (pp. 49-50)

Punishment is often in the form of group sanctions and group criticism. The worst punishment is ostracism from the group. The individual is taught to act upon the judgments of the group and to consider group interests above all else.

Vocational education

The lack of learning aids has been resolved, in part, by having local communities prepare educational materials. In several instances, factories and schools have been merged together so that secondary students can combine work and study, thereby increasing production and the learning of technical skills. This merger also defrays the cost of education by providing a source of inexpensive labor. Combining vocational training with factory or agriculture work is a labor intensive production model which other underdeveloped countries should consider, according to Eklund (1977). Cogan (1978) also believes schools in the country are a solution for providing education in underdeveloped countries because most countries are faced with increased immigration to the cities to receive the benefits of education and medical attention which are more frequently offered in the urban environment. Taking the urban students to the country for their schooling can slow and even reverse this migratory process by systematically directing attention to the rural areas generally overlooked by youth. The rural environment provides youth with meaningful activity and study and encourages greater socialization of the youth within the socialist system (Cogan, 1978; Eklund, 1977).

While the first six grades are compulsory, a secondary education is viewed as a moral obligation but not a requirement. Throughout their school careers, students regularly attend class $4\frac{1}{2}$ hours and work in the fields or factories another 4 beginning in the fourth grade. Students are integrated into the educational system through the process of giving each student responsibility for some specific task such as maintenance of the building, collection and preparation of materials,

care of younger children, or cultivation of the school garden or fruit grove. Even younger primary school students usually have some type of chores or responsibilities to perform during or after school hours (Paulston, 1980).

Juvenile delinquency

Salas (1979) has done an extensive review of youth in Cuba and the problem of juvenile delinquency there, and finds that data are very scarce. However, according to his reports, in 1969, more than half the youth in the 15- to 17-year-old bracket were neither working or attending school. Special vocational schools for the difficult children were established. Children also receive training in proper use of leisure time through mass youth organizations, Pioneers and Union of Young Communists. Follow-up data on juvenile problems were not available.

One of the major explanations for the presence of juvenile delinquency is that capitalism has had a great influence on the culture of the Cuban people; capitalistic traditions are hard to eradicate. Educational emphasis has been on love, an emotional quality which is viewed as being almost completely missing in capitalist societies. Children are also taught positive attitudes toward work and social responsibility. They are encouraged to forget about the profit motive and see work as a pleasurable activity which provides motivation of its own. The Cuban Revolution has changed children's attitudes toward their parents so that now many children see themselves as role models for their parents. They are encouraged to instruct their parents in new appropriate social behavior. This change in role responsibility has

caused some youth to feel superior to their parents and fostered a gulf between the generations. Because of the strong emphasis on work and social responsibility, many children have lost the spirit of youth, Salas (1979) believes.

Cumulative student profiles include academic data, biological, social and economic data, personality traits, and political evaluations. Ideological and political assessments are made by student organizations, the school council, and other mass organizations. This information is transferred to the work dossier on which data is continually accumulated during adulthood, according to Salas..

Use of unpaid labor as an educational tool

Mesa-Lago (1972) writes that in Cuba unpaid labor has been considered not only a means of economic development but "as an educational tool in the construction of the so-called communist society" (p. 384). He distinguishes five types of unpaid labor: work performed by employed men and women after regular work hours; unemployed women's work; labor performed by students as part of their education; social rehabilitation work performed by people who have not been able to conform to the Revolutionary system; and military service, compulsory for all males. Most unpaid labor is called "voluntary," although there are many social, political, and economic pressures placed on the workers to volunteer. While some of these pressures are not unlike those expressed in some ways in the U.S., they differ in the degree of overtness with which they are expressed (Montaner, 1981).

Mesa-Lago calculates that by 1967 unpaid labor represented between 8 to 12% of the regular labor force. Recent immigrants talk about being required to volunteer a large number of hours of free labor to be eligible for raffles in which they have a chance to be chosen to purchase an appliance such as a refrigerator or sewing machine. Mesa-Lago (1972) concludes that although the use of unpaid labor may have educational and sociological benefits, it may also have a negative effect on production in several ways. Greatest of these is the fact that it reduces work incentive and increases production costs. Trends show an increase in the formal organization of unpaid labor, along the lines of military organization, to maximize the advantages of unpaid labor.

Changes in Female Roles

Prior to the Revolution, Cuban women were expected to exemplify the traditional Hispanic virtues of "chastity, subservience, and domesticity" (Black et al., 1976, p. 114). The new Cuban women are expected to be the opposite: ". . . active in the work force and in politics; expressive and open about their feelings, whether political or personal; and aggressive in their defense of the Revolution" (Black et al., 1976, p. 115). In addition to strong participation in the Committee for the Defense of the Revolution, they have formed a separate organization--the Federation of Cuban Women--that has been very important in raising women's consciousness, integrating them into the work force and the political system, and achieving for them equal rights with men. This organization has also been important in civil

defense and for improving the health conditions and environmental control of the family. In his speech to the Second Congress of the Federation (1974), Castro said, "The Revolution has in Cuban women today a true army, an impressive political force" (p. 50).

Garcia (1980) believes that in spite of the Revolution's desire to form a new role for women and to elevate them to a position of equal importance with men, cultural expectations for women's behavior have not changed much since prerevolutionary times. Women are still expected to be virginal, reserved, and domestic.

Changes in Religious Practices

Statistics on religious practices are difficult to verify because much religious activity has become clandestine (Clark, 1975). However, information on religion is important because many of the students and other adults spoke of deep religious convictions or church membership, especially in Protestant faiths such as Jehovah's Witnesses. While Christians are no longer persecuted, there are a variety of social pressures to dissuade the practice of any religion (Clark, 1975). Clark (1979) writes that parents who send their children to Catholic catechism classes receive visits from the children's teachers telling them that such practices will impede the child's progress within the educational system. Religious affiliation is also a cause for dismissal from a position. Many political and volunteer work meetings are planned for Sunday, so there is little time to attend church. Some elements of the Catholic and Protestant faiths have worked toward conciliation between the church and state. This activity is not greatly supported; the communists view the practice of religion as a

subversive activity and Christians view communism as anathema (Black et al., 1976). Montaner (1981) finds that "any form of religious militancy is a subtle form of counterrevolution, the Protestant militancy, or that of Jehovah's Witnesses, are the most dangerous" (p. 78). While much of the strong Catholicism has faded away through governmental patience, the evangelical movement has strengthened and poses a thorny problem for totalitarianism, according to Montaner.

Problems of Rationing

In 1962, rationing of almost all products including food, clothing, and household items began. Rationing was installed to provide more equitable distribution of available goods and to allow more products to be exported, thus improving the economic stability of the country. One of the advantages of attending school or work is the provision of meals at little or no cost. Black et al. (1976) find that while rationing still exists, the availability of food has improved. Currently, infant mortality rate is 23 per 1,000 persons. Only eight of the 29 Caribbean countries and territories reported had lower rates. The U.S. reported 14 per 1,000 (Lowenthal, 1982).

Clark's (1979) findings conflict with Black et al. (1976). He states that the caloric intake of the Cuban diet today is less than that of a slave living in Cuba during colonial times. A comparison of Clark's rationing statistics for the years 1969, 1971, and 1974, with reports given by 1980 immigrants, indicates that Cubans are consuming one pound less rice per month and five ounces less coffee per month in 1980 than in 1971 or 1974. They did have four ounces

more of beans and two more cans of condensed milk. Eggs have been taken off rationing and bread is limited to one pound daily, according to the 1980 informants. Fresh fruits and vegetables remain scarce and available only sporadically. The 1980 informants state that although food is supposed to be allocated every 10 days, supplies are limited and often arrive at 15-day intervals.

Gordon (1982) reports similar findings in his study of 1980 of Cuban immigrants. He finds that 25% of the children suffered first degree malnutrition. Fifteen percent of the adults and 12% of the children suffered from anemia. Black et al. (1976) state that prior to the Revolution, it is believed that about 35% of the children suffered from malnutrition.

By the mid-1970s, much of the military costume worn at the inception of the Revolution was replaced by more conventional dress--short-sleeved shirts or blouses with trousers or skirts. Primary and secondary school students wear uniforms indicating their level of study and location of their school (Black et al., 1976). Clothing choices reflect not so much personal preferences as availability. The recent immigrants report that rationing permits men one shirt, pair of trousers, and shoes for work and one set for dress per year. Women are allowed 4 meters of cloth, one blouse, one skirt, and one pair of dress pants and shoes per year. All items are to be purchased according to the ration book and purchases can be made only when merchandise is available. According to immigrants, allocated merchandise frequently is not available except on the black market for very high prices. Because of the rationing program, it is not unusual to stand in line several hours only to find

that whatever was available has been sold out just as one's turn comes up. Clark (1979) concludes that contrary to what has been published by many U.S. writers, Cubans are not living better than they were 20 years ago. While Clark's evaluation may be subjective, the fact remains that all segments of Cuban society have emigrated when given the opportunity.

Summary of Life in Cuba

Data on life in Cuba have been difficult to collect because of a lack of reliable statistics and the difficulty of maintaining objectivity (Black et al., 1976; Mesa-Lago, 1969; Montaner, 1981). The cultural change which has occurred as a result of the Cuban Revolution has affected the immigrants who arrived in 1980.

The U.S. has been blamed for many of the negative events that have occurred in Cuba. The U.S. blockade is considered responsible for the lack of books and for the scarcity of many items. Education is seen as fundamental to the Revolution with instructional emphasis on math and technology. The desired goal of the educational system is the formation of a new person who is selfless and willing to strive for the good of the collective group (Levan, 1972; Valdes, 1972). All phases of the government system reflect educational goals. Not only are the parents and the schools held responsible for the children, the local government agency which exists in every sector of every community, the CDR, is charged with the moral and patriotic upbringing of children. The CDR monitors and reports on the students' integration within the political system. Only those who are closely affiliated with revolutionary ideology progress beyond the lower levels of the educational system (Clark, 1977).

While Castro (1974) believes women's role in society has changed as a result of the Revolution, Garcia (1980) sees the cultural expectations for women's behavior as having changed little since the Revolution.

One of the greatest problems which Cubans face is the scarcity of material goods. Rationing began in 1962 to alleviate the problems caused by scarcity. Rationing has resulted in more equitable distribution of some basic necessities and has succeeded in decreasing the infant mortality. Nevertheless, shortages of food and other basic needs are a source of great frustration for the island inhabitants.

The 1980 Immigrants

The seeds of the 1980 Cuban immigration were sown in the late 1970s and perhaps earlier. Some of those seeds are still in fertile ground and continue to grow in 1983.

Historical Background

Most press accounts of this migration begin with the storming of the Peruvian Embassy in Havana in April 1980, by a group of Cubans asking for asylum. However, the deepening economic and political problems within Cuba, as well as the return of over 100,000 Cuban-Americans bearing gifts and stories about the marvelous life in the U.S., are important causative factors in the 1980 immigration (Azicri, 1981-82; Gonzalez & McCoy, 1980). By allowing the Cuban-Americans to return to Cuba for family visits, the Cuban government expected to gain additional tourist money to bolster the economy, to demonstrate to the exiles the institutionalization of the Revolution, and to improve Cuba's

human rights image in other countries (Boswell, 1982). When the Cuban-Americans returned to Cuba, they wiped away, at least temporarily, the anti-American and anti-exile image which the Revolution had created over the past 20 years of its existence. Many Cubans had family members in the U.S., but because of military service and other government obligations, had put aside thoughts of leaving Cuba. With the return of so many Cuban-Americans, it was impossible for the Cubans to keep thoughts of leaving Cuba at rest.

Approximately 1% of the Cuban population left in 1980. Figures from a wide range of official and semi-official sources vary from 124,789 to 125,262 (see McCoy & Gonzalez, 1982, for an example). Testimony before the U.S. Senate (Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate, 96 Congress, 1980) indicates that unemployment was high and a large number of Cubans had asked for permission to leave the country by April 1980. Clark et al. (1981) believe that by January 1980, 1.5 million people, about 15% of the population, had requested permission to leave Cuba.

The North American Reception

Ironically, 1 month prior to the 1980 Cuban immigration, the U.S. Congress enacted legislation dismantling the machinery utilized to accommodate the previous cohorts of Cuban refugees. Previous refugee policy was replaced with the 1980 Refugee Act, a bill which sought to address unresolved immigration problems but which gave the 1980 Cubans an undefined political status because they did not fit the descriptions of immigrants or refugees according to this new piece of legislation (Department of Health and Rehabilitative Services, 1982).

On October 1, 1980, Congress passed the Refugee Education Assistance Act of 1980 to help defray the costs of refugees which have been incurred by the state and local governments (Department of Health and Rehabilitative Services, 1982). The political debate over the appropriation and use of these funds continues as of this writing.

Not only did these Cuban immigrants not receive the warm welcome experienced by the golden exiles of the Early Departure stage, or even the consideration given those of the Family Reunion stage, they were rebuffed in a variety of different ways.

The media

Press coverage of this immigration has been notoriously biased against the immigrants. Lieberman (1982) finds that the newspapers ". . . exaggerate the health and criminal threats posed by the immigrants and, therefore, inflame the prejudicial attitudes of native Miamians" (p. 10). Kelly, Diederich, and McWhirter (1981) and Chaze and Lyons (1982) document the rise in crime in Florida over the past decade and attribute it to the recent Cuban influx. It is interesting to note the graphics and information provided by these articles show the crime rate in south Florida was steadily increasing during the 1970s. The Cubans who are supposed to have accounted for most of the increase did not arrive until the point at which the final measurement was taken. Other news articles attribute the decline in tourism in south Florida, in part, to the fear of the criminal element, seen as largely being the 1980 Cubans (see Gyllenhaal, 1981, and Silva, 1981, for a review of national press coverage). Silva (1982a) finds that

some refugees are so tired of being referred to as the troublemakers, they have formed groups to patrol the streets and assist the police in crime fighting. Another response to the problems is the formation of Miami Citizens Against Crime, a civic group whose voice was influential in the formation of Vice President Bush's Task Force on South Florida Crime (Stein, 1982).

The government

Upon entering the U.S., the immigrants were given the status of "entrant" rather than "refugee," thus removing the possibility of federal refugee assistance made available to the two previous Cuban cohorts (Cuban/Haitian Entrant Program Operating Manual, 1981). On November 4, 1980, voters decided that Dade County would no longer function bilingually, and voted to cease the expenditure of county funds to utilize any language other than English. The anti-bilingual controversy is considered a grass roots movement against the Cubanization of the Miami area. This movement has some support in other parts of Florida. Anti-bilingual legislation continues to be debated in the Florida Legislature (Melby, 1982; Watts, 1982).

In spite of the fact that Florida has been a recipient of a large share of the legal and illegal immigration, it received less than half of the federal funds made available to the states for immigrant assistance during the period of 1980-81. The bulk of the financial responsibility has shifted from the federal government resources to the state and counties receiving the impact of the Cuban migration. The resulting financial drain on local and state resources has presented the local citizenry with another strong reason not to want to accept the new Cubans.

Martinez (1982a) calls the children of Mariel political pawns and believes that Florida's Governor Graham is building on political sentiment to improve his personal career by saying that all 1980 Cuban entrants must prove their claim to political asylum or be returned to Cuba. Florida's allocation of federal welfare funds for immigrants was for 18 months, while other states receiving large numbers of immigrants were funded for 36 months (Department of Health and Rehabilitative Services, 1982). Herald Wire Service (1982) quotes Graham as indicating that he will provide the 1980 immigrants with a humanitarian gesture by helping them move to any of the 10 states that still provide welfare benefits. This move is seen by some segments of the Miami community as a means of relocating some of the refugees in other states, thus alleviating the burden placed on Florida. A Federal Court Order was required before aliens, including the 1980 Cubans, were considered eligible for Dade County welfare benefits. The exact legal status of these entrants and the determination of their rights is still in limbo (Boswell, 1982).

To replace the administrative machinery developed and refined during the two previous Cuban immigrations and destroyed by the 1980 Immigration Act, the Cuban/Haitian Task Force was formed under the auspices of the Federal Emergency Management Agency. This task force incorporated the participation of many volunteer agencies to assist in immigrant resettlement (Bowen, 1980). Many publications document the bungling which occurred as a result of this processing system (Bach, 1980; U.S. Refugee Programs, 1980). Nichols (1982) believes the federal government

does not yet know the actual number of Cuban criminals who entered in 1980. Government statistics range between 2,000 and 24,000 persons, with private estimates as high as 50,000 (Nichols, 1982). Rivero (1982), a member of the Cuban/Haitian Task Force, finds substantial evidence that only 18 of 1,600 Cubans incarcerated in the Atlanta federal penitentiary were hardened criminals. Government handling of the issue of what to do with the criminal element that came in 1980 confounded the problem. Rivero (1982) believes government behavior was a direct response to the strong reactions of the U.S. public toward the 1980 immigrants.

Reception by the Cuban-Americans

An obvious reaction to the notoriety of the 1980 immigrants has been the behavior of some of the previous Cuban immigrants, now considered Cuban-Americans, who seek to avoid what they consider contamination associated with a negative image of Cubans (see Gonzalez & McCoy, 1980, for coverage of problems in south Florida; Rose, 1982, for Atlanta; Wadler, 1981, for New York-New Jersey).

This reaction can be observed in a variety of different ways. One evident linguistic marker which Cuban-Americans have adopted to put historical distance between themselves and the new arrivals and to establish legitimacy to their residence in the U.S. is the use of time references which show the period in which the immigrant arrived. It is common to hear Cuban-Americans say, "In all the 12 years I've lived on this street . . ." or "Since 1970, when I came here, I have"

Portes, Clark, and Lopez (1981-82) stress the importance the receiving community plays in assisting the new immigrants in the acculturation

process. These researchers predict that if the already established Cuban-American community rejects the new arrivals, the new Cubans will have a far more difficult time in adjusting. Of the previous cohorts of Cubans, Portes et al. (1981-82) write,

While similar in many background characteristics such as occupation, education, urban residence, etc., it is not likely that the relatively mild adaptation experienced by these exiles will be reproduced among those coming recently through the Mariel boatlift. The rapidity and size of this flow have taxed not only federal and state resources but also those of the Cuban community itself. (p. 23)

The researchers are optimistic that the new inflow ". . . can be absorbed by the enclave economy rather than shifted to the low-wage open labor market" (Portes et al., 1981-82, p. 23); the latter being seen as presenting a more difficult economic situation for immigrants and one in which most of the other migrating Latin Americans find themselves.

Domino Park has become the symbol of the Cubanization of the southwest section of Miami known as Little Havana. It is a symbol of the old Cuban style of graceful living, a place where old men gathered to play dominos and share friendships established long ago on a now distant island, a place where people can pass by and enjoy a vivid, picturesque, typically Cuban scene. Before 1980, the park and the business district where it is located were considered safe, low-crime areas. Cubans from many different areas of south Florida referred to the park with pride, and considered it a reflection of the improvement that they have made to a community which was in a state of economic deterioration before their arrival. Now there are iron bars on the

store windows in the area around the park. Special police patrol on foot, horseback, and by car to keep order. Currently, there is a controversy about whether to close the park, fence it in, or limit its use to registered, card-carrying citizens. But the controversy is bigger than the park. It is a controversy between the already established Cuban-American merchants and businessmen and angry, young 1980 Cubans who arrived with high expectations and found little to accommodate beliefs that the U.S. was a land of plenty. The polarization of the community cannot be resolved with regulations and identification cards (Dunlop, 1982; Martinez, 1982c). This hostile community reaction is not so different from that experienced by various waves of European immigrants who settled in the Northeast at the beginning of the century (Gonzalez & McCoy, 1980).

Balmaseda (1981) quotes Mariel entrant Martinez as saying, "Many refugees refuse to say they arrived by Mariel. They are wrong that way. They are perpetuating the bad image of the Marielito. If the good ones admit they are Marielitos, maybe the stigma will go away" (p. 6g).

The 1980 Cubans seem to have received more than their share of controversy, as exemplified by the confrontation between movie producers and elements of the Cuban-American community over the remaking of an old Al Capone movie, "Scarface," now a story about a 1980 refugee-turned dope smuggler and gangster. Not confined to the local scene, the conflict expanded past the Greater Miami Chamber of Commerce to the office of the Governor. In spite of attempts to smooth over differences, articles opposing the movie continued to appear in a

powerful, local newspaper. The film is now being shot on location in another part of the country (Associated Press, 1982; Fabricio, 1982a, 1982b; Martinez, 1982f).

Comparison with Previous Cuban Immigrant Groups

New and strange values have been attributed to the recent emigres. One young man said he and his friends expected to be welcomed as heroes for the bravery they had displayed in leaving Castro's island, and were surprised that no one here really seemed to care at all. Others have said that being in the U.S. is like stepping back in time. They see U.S. society as being very much like prerevolutionary Cuban society and feel that they are going backward instead of forward.

According to Martinez (1982d), 2 years have passed since the immigration and about 30,000 Cubans have not been able to melt into the great American social melting pot. He writes that a hard core of refugees ". . . remain as they were on the day they arrived--poor, unskilled, uneducated, emotionally fragile, and virtually impossible to assimilate" (p. 1a). In the same article, Martinez quotes Portes as saying that this group suffers as no other previous Cuban group from stigmatization by both the Cuban and the U.S. governments. A preliminary report by the Miami Planning Department (Martinez, 1982d) finds these refugees have created the Cuban slums. All previous Cuban groups have moved into low rent areas and improved the property values through their industriousness and enterprise. The planning report states that the group of Cubans who moved into the Little Havana section lacks a solid educational background, vocational skills, and

an understanding of the economic and political system. While this group consists predominantly of young males and is not representative of the 1980 group as a whole, it has received a great deal of attention from the Cuban-American community as well as the press. These apprehensions are reminiscent of Gallagher's findings in 1974 that the existing community was concerned the new arrivals would lower property values in the district.

Llanes (1982) documents that Cubans who came during the Family Reunion stage were concerned about being observed and identified as informers. In one of several passages where he emphasizes concern, he quotes one of the composite characters as saying, "I am bothered by the thought of possibly being accused in public by people who got here two months before me, who now have the authority to label me, to put me on a list or to circulate a rumor. My paranoia knows no bounds" (p. 32). The composite character continues, "An older man behind me sees my anxiety and clears my doubt, 'Chivatos, mi hijita,' (Spies, my daughter). "It doesn't matter whether they work for Fidel, Batista, or Kennedy. Watch out" (pp. 32-33). The fear that there are always spies, always watching and reporting, has been stated by both Cuban-Americans and Cubans. While preoccupation with this watching and being watched is very real, it appears to have intensified in the 1980 group. One can observe it in talking to a 1980 Cuban who has something negative to say. There is the usual glance to the left and the right, and the bending close to be heard only by the intended one. It can also be observed in a casual walk down Southwest Eighth Street. Whether this behavior is habitual reaction ingrained as a means of self-protection or real fear, it is a

behavior mentioned by many Cubans on a variety of occasions. Perhaps because they are still new to this system, the concern about being watched is more obvious around the 1980 Cubans.

These people are also like the people of the "tubos" in some respects. In spite of the fact that they had very few material assets, they miss their established daily routine of seeing friends and family, of obtaining food, of sleeping in the familiar bed, and of life in general. The Cuban-Americans find it difficult to listen to the newcomers recount the things that are missing from their lives now that they are no longer in Cuba.

Adjustment Problems

Szapocznik (1981) discusses some of the cultural characteristics he observed in the 1980 Cuban entrant population with whom he worked. He finds these Cubans' perspectives and personalities have been molded by 20 years of life under a very different political system. This orientation sets them apart from the previous Cuban immigrant groups. The new group's orientation is more toward the present; they are less motivated by long-range goals. Because of the overcrowded housing conditions under which most of them lived, they are accustomed to less personal space. Many individuals express a strong need to relate interpersonally. They appear emotionally intense. The children have been socialized in peer cultures so they relate horizontally rather than lineally. Young males in particular tend to be rebellious toward authority. Szapocznik (1981) predicts that those who were obvious dissidents will have an easier time adjusting, while those

who were marginal may have internalized their dissidence and may generalize it toward authority figures in their new environment.

In addition to adjusting to the obvious stresses of losing one's homeland, leaving one's family behind, adapting to different customs and language, there are more subtle problems which may be more difficult to understand. The refugees may be relieved to live in a land of opportunities where they are free of suspicions and oppression. Nevertheless, they have difficulty adjusting to this very freedom. Their lives are not organized and prescribed for them; there is no sense of accustomed order. They may be depressed because they do not know where to turn or what to do next. They may also feel guilt at having left loved ones behind. They find themselves indulging in the benefits of their new economic opportunities, but unable to enjoy them because they remember the daily difficulties which their loved ones still face.

Arenas (1982) summed up his feelings of loss in having left Cuba: "The house was on fire!! The house was on fire!! But we got out!! We saved ourselves, yes! But the house burned down." The loss of one's country is pervasive because one can never return to what once was and never again will be.

Spencer, Szapocznik, Santisteban, and Rodriguez (1981) compare the emotional problems of the 1980 Cubans with those of a family where the parents are in conflict and communication is poor. In this comparison the mother and father are represented by the governments of the two countries. These researchers believe that the ". . . ambiguity associated with an unclear legal status" (p. 3) has been a source of stress for the entire Cuban immigrant population.

Unzueta's research (1981) finds that at least 42% of the 1980 population she studied had felt discrimination as a result of their refugee status. The greatest amount of discrimination came from the Cuban-Americans. The Cubans also report being more afraid of being victimized in the community in which they are currently living than in the resettlement camps where they first lived. This report confirms what many Cubans have said; to many, the local neighborhoods present a more hostile environment than that of the camp life. Some seem to be traumatized by what they see as a large U.S. criminal element. It should be noted, however, that more than 50% report no discrimination and 80% report being accepted by their countrymen, the Cuban-Americans.

One of the factors helping to integrate the new Cubans into the Miami community is the festive spirit of traditional Latin American holidays and the special festivities designed to bring the Anglo, Black, and Latin communities together. Martinez (1982b) and Balmaseda (1982) point out the importance of these celebrations. Martinez sees them as indicative of a new spirit of cooperation building within the various ethnic groups in Miami.

The research of Bach, Bach, and Triplet (1981-82) provides information on characteristics of the 1980 entrants. Most were from the mainstream of the Cuban economy. When employment background is combined with age, sex, race, and residence, a profile emerges that places most of the entrants in the center of Cuban society. Fernandez' (1981-82) work concurs with the above research. He adds that in spite of their location within the center of the Cuban society, ". . . many

entrants seem to be socially marginal in the sense that they generally did not participate in collective organizations in Cuba" (p. 52). He finds this unusual in a society ". . . that actively promotes mass membership in revolutionary organizations" (p. 52). As a result of his study, Fernandez (1981-82) finds the only organizations with more than 10% membership of the entrants he surveyed were the labor organizations which require membership. Participants of the Fernandez' study generally expressed suspicion and fear of Cuban authorities. Many of this group came here with unrealistic expectations of good jobs and economic security. When their expectations are not met, Fernandez believes many Cubans may transfer the feelings of distrust to those in authority in the U.S. Fernandez calls for special compassion and assistance in helping these immigrants through the transition to a new life in this country.

Two years after the 1980 immigration, the media began reporting that the Mariel crime wave had peaked and was now dropping (Silva, 1982b). The most positive report is by McCoy and Gonzalez (1982) who find that the crime attributed to the Mariel refugees ". . . has been somewhat overestimated, while the crime increase attributable to other, probably illegal aliens has been considerably underestimated" (p. 34). The final grand jury report shows that Mariel Cubans' percent of arrests is almost twice that of the pre-Mariel Cuban group; 16% as compared to 9%. However, both groups are lower than all other comparison groups which include whites, blacks, and other Latins or Caribbeans. These researchers have very positive expectations that the new arrivals are making the adjustment and are becoming positive contributors to south Florida society. To understand the value of

immigrants in south Florida, McCoy and Gonzalez (1982) suggest it is necessary to look at the contributions already made by Cuban-Americans and other Latin groups who have made their homes here. After all, McCoy and Gonzalez say, "less than one-third of present residents have claims to being native Floridians" (p. 36).

Educational Comparison

Rivero's work (1981) is the only research to be found that deals specifically with 1980 Cuban teenagers in U.S. schools. Rivero finds that most of the youth he surveyed indicate the U.S. schools are stricter than most Cuban schools. The teachers of these children report the children display somewhat unruly behavior in that they have difficulty taking turns in talking and listening when others speak. In contrast, these students report the level of difficulty of the material presented was greater in Cuba, even though there are more exams and homework here. According to Rivero, many of the Cuban students appear to have poor preparation in Spanish language, especially grammar, but are taking advanced mathematics and sciences. Rivero (1981) says, "Their weakness in their native language may make the learning of English even harder for these students. This fact, along with their apparent ability in math, argues for a greater emphasis on teaching them communication skills" (p. 9). Even though this group displays many outward symbols of acculturation, Rivero expresses concern about their understanding of basic work values. Students avoid being labeled as coming from Mariel, with a disproportionate number listing Spain, or Costa Rica, or other countries as location of origin before entering the U.S.

Rivero does not find that the 1980 Cubans are associating with the English-speaking people in their schools or neighborhood. While only 11% reported problems with the Anglo-Americans, "This lack of trouble is not necessarily indicative of smooth integration . . . relations [between the two groups] may seem good, but, in fact, there is simply little interaction between them" (p. 11), because the two groups do not speak the same language.

Summary of the 1980 Immigrants

The 1980 Cuban immigration is the result of many factors. Among these, a major cause was probably the return of many Cuban-Americans to Cuba. The returning Cuban-Americans told about the good life in the U.S. (Boswell, 1982). By April 1980, more than 1.5 million Cubans had asked permission to leave Cuba (Clark et al., 1981).

The reception which the Cubans who arrived between April and September of 1980 received was unlike that which previous groups received. Much of the crime that occurred in south Florida was attributed to the Cubans.* Federal funds which had been available for previous Cuban refugee groups were no longer available. Some groups believe these Cubans were used like pawns to further political careers.

Although some of the Cuban-Americans went to Cuba in 1980 to take out their relatives and friends, a segment of the established Cuban-American community rejected the new Cubans. Some Cuban-Americans put psychological distance between themselves and the new arrivals in a variety of ways. It is predicted that adaptation will be more difficult for these Cubans because of the community reaction against them and the

differences in cultural expectations which they bring with them from Cuba (Martinez, 1982d; Szapocznik, 1981). Little is yet known about how these Cuban students are achieving in school. Many students appear to have a poor background in Spanish, they do better in math and science. Although the group appears to be outwardly acculturating, little is known about their progress in learning English (Rivero, 1981).

Summary

Chapter Two provides a review of the literature relevant to this research. The review has been divided into five sections. The first section discussed the use of ethnography as the research method to be used and highlighted significant research in sociolinguistics and second language acquisition. Of importance is the fact that the analysis of the research must include interpretations by the participants as well as the researcher. A number of the findings of second language research were cited. The cultural, psychological, and political environment in which the language is learned is extremely important. Cummins' work (1980) on the interdependence theory and Cummins et al. (in press) findings that the cognitive/academic aspects of language transfer across languages is important theoretical background for this research.

The second section reviewed research on immigration in the U.S. Gordon's (1964) work on adaptation and assimilation is significant. However, the conflict perspective of Bach (1978) and Portes et al. (1980) is important because not all Cuban-Americans and Cubans are viewed as seeking cultural or social integration as posed by Gordon. Little work exists on the effect of culturally prescribed sex roles on

the process of acculturation. Smith's (1980) observations that females are expected to play different cultural roles which inhibit integration into the host culture is a major observation which receives further attention in this research.

Section three traces Cuban immigration in the U.S. over the past 24 years. The Cuban experience in the U.S. has been unique in a variety of ways. The first group to leave Cuba expected a quick return to the island. When these people realized their expectations for Castro's overthrow were not going to materialize, they established economic relations in the U.S. Cuban-Americans have thus developed socioeconomic networks within the mainstream U.S. economy as well as immigrant economic enclaves (Bach, 1978; Portes et al., 1980). Reaction of the host society is important in the adaptation process. Living in an area of high concentration of Cuban-Americans does not significantly slow the acculturation process. The Cuban-American community can be viewed as beneficial to the new Cuban immigrant in adjusting to life in the U.S. (Rogg & Cooney, 1980).

An understanding of the life which the 1980 Cubans lived in Cuba is the topic of the fourth section. As a result of the Cuban Revolution, emphasis is on the making of the new person. Math and technology are the priority areas of instruction. Organization of a collective society willing to work selflessly for the good of the group has involved not only the parents and the school, but the total Cuban society. Everyone is inculcated with a sense of superpatriotism. The U.S. blockade of Cuba has been blamed for the scarcity of many items. Rationing was established to insure more equitable distribution of

goods; but has, in fact, been a source of frustration for the Cubans (Clark, 1982).

The 1980 immigrants received a reception unlike other cohorts of migrating Cubans. Much of the crime wave that was occurring in south Florida at the time of their arrival was blamed on the new Cubans. While some groups and individuals within the Cuban-American and U.S. society welcomed the Cubans, much negative reaction was publicized by the press. This notoriety has made it difficult for these Cubans to adjust (Martinez, 1982d). Little is known about the educational attainment of these Cubans. However, they appear to have a poor background in Spanish, but achieve better in math (Rivero, 1981).

CHAPTER THREE METHODOLOGY

Introduction

Data for this study were collected between October 1981 and August 1982 on a specific population of 1980 Cuban immigrant seventh- and eighth-grade students, their parents and other significant family members, the community where these students reside, and the larger Anglo and Cuban communities in south Florida. The primary location for this study was an area of Florida north of the large Cuban community in Miami. The Spanish-speaking population residing in this area is about 10% of the total area population (U.S. Census Bureau 1980 Advance Count, 1982). This location was specifically chosen because the English-speaking population greatly outnumbered the Spanish speakers, thus providing those learning English a greater reason to utilize English skills than students of the same age group living in the larger Spanish-speaking population further south. However, interviews were also conducted in other areas of Florida, principally Dade County, in order that the researcher might integrate the data from the primary site with that collected from Cubans and Cuban-Americans in general. The sensitive nature of the data collected prohibits any references which might indicate the specific location of the community, school, or students studied.

Organization

The written and oral language sample and written language proficiency measures were used to test the first hypothesis: the relationship of first language ability to second language acquisition. The second hypothesis which looked at the influence of the family, relatives, and significant community members' influence on second language learning was tested through the use of student and parent surveys, student and parent interviews, informant interviews within the school and community, and participant observation. The third hypothesis examined observable behavioral differences between students who were achieving significantly higher and lower on standardized language measures. The results of these tests were correlated with ratings of participation in physical education. Thus a variety of different methods and measures were used to determine students' overall language proficiency and to observe some of the factors influencing the acquisition of English as a second language.

Instrumentation

Data were collected through the use of nationally normed, standardized group and individual tests in English and Spanish, as well as participant observation, formal and informal interviews, and surveys. Both parents and students were requested to complete a survey indicating language preferences and language use (see Appendices D and E for Student and Parent Surveys), which was developed and modified from the work of Rodriguez-Brown and Elias-Olivares (1981).

Additional information was collected by requesting the bilingual and English as a Second Language (ESL) teachers to rate students' language proficiency using a rating scale developed by the Southwest Educational Development Laboratory, SEDL (Mace-Matluck, 1980). Guidelines for the use of this scale were devised by combining the SEDL design with the work of Damico et al. (1981). The two bilingual teachers rated the students' proficiency in Spanish, while the ESL teacher rated them in English (see Appendices F and G for Rating Scales and Guidelines for Scoring).

Oral and written language samples were collected from the students. The Sentence Comprehension and the Story Retelling subsections of the Language Assessment Scale II (LAS II) were individually administered in English and Spanish. The first story was retold orally on cassette tape. The second story was retold in writing. Students were encouraged to use the LAS pictures and make-up their own story, if they could not recall the recorded story.

All individual Spanish oral and written language samples were scored by native Spanish-speaking educators from Cuba, using the guidelines for scoring the LAS II (Duncan & De Avila, 1981). All individual English oral and written language samples were scored by native English-speaking educators from the U.S. who used the same procedures and guidelines described above. All language samples were scored blind; scorers were not acquainted with the research population.

As a part of the evaluation procedures of the regular bilingual program of the school district where this research was conducted, all junior high school students enrolled in the program are given the

Language Assessment Battery--Level III (LAB III) in English and Spanish at the beginning and close of the school year. During the research period, this test was given to the research population in October 1981 and May 1982. This test was administered under standardized testing conditions and was computer scored. The scores for all students were made available to the researcher. As an added measure of Spanish-reading ability, all bilingual students were administered the Pruebas de Lectura, Serie Interamericana, Nivel 3, Parte 3, Nivel de Comprension (Inter-American Series, Reading Test, Level 3, Part 3, Reading Comprehension). Students were allowed to use as much time as needed to complete this reading test which was administered during April of 1982.

School Program

The bilingual program at this school consists of several components. Instruction in the core subjects of math, science, and social studies is provided by bilingual teachers who use the same textbooks as those used in the regular program of the school. Explanations and review of subject matter are provided in English and Spanish in the core classes. Students are tested in English. During the school day, three of the seven class periods are spent in core curriculum. An additional period is devoted to ESL instruction. All students in the bilingual program are required to attend these four classes and physical education. The remaining two periods are allocated for electives such as home economics, art, music, vocational education, and Spanish.

Before the research was undertaken, the bilingual teachers had cautioned me that it was quite likely students and their parents would not want to participate in the research. The teachers believed that

the people would be reluctant to participate in the research because of their previous experiences in Cuba and in this country. Nevertheless, the teachers and aides encouraged the students and parents to participate. They suggested the students should talk to me and view me as a regular part of the bilingual program. I believe that had it not been for the support of these professionals, this research could not have been conducted.

Student Population Description

The 63 Cuban children studying at the junior high school where this research was conducted constituted the entire 1980 Cuban junior high school population enrolled in the bilingual program within the specific section of the school district where this study was conducted. In addition to these 63 Cubans, there were 24 other students of the same age and approximate English-ability level who were also members of the bilingual program. These students came from Latin America, Europe, and Asia and represented a total of five different languages other than English.

Most Cubans walked to school in groups, rode bicycles there together, or came by group private transportation. Although the majority of the Cuban students lived near the school, some of the students were bussed from as far as 30 miles away.

Letters of permission were written in Spanish according to the guidelines specified by the Protection of Human Subjects Committee at the University of Florida (see Appendices B and C for Letters of Permission to the students and parents). Of the 63 students who were

given these letters of permission, 45 students received parental consent to participate.

Within the total group, 39 were female and 24 were male. Of this total, 22 females and 19 males participated in the research. Twenty-two of the 26 females participated because they returned their letters of consent within the specified time; all males who returned their letters participated.

Thirteen females and five males did not participate in the individual phase of the research. When the individual testing was completed, these nonparticipating students were questioned to determine why they had not participated. The reasons they gave are as follows: four said they had never received the letters of permission; five said they had lost the letters; two said their father or mother had not wanted them to participate; three said they did not want to participate; one said she was too busy; three said they did not belong to this group of Cubans. The first two reasons are viewed as unlikely because students were reminded daily for 2 weeks of the importance of returning the letters of permission. Many students were given as many as three additional letters because they had specified that the letters had been lost. Teachers stated that all students who had been counted as 1980 Cubans were in fact 1980 Cubans and did belong to this group.

Data Collection

Research permission was obtained from the Protection of Human Subjects Committee at the University of Florida, the school board staff of the local governing school board agency, the school principal, and the bilingual classroom teachers.

Research began at the school site in January 1982 and continued through May. For much of that time I spent the entire school day at the school site, 5 days a week. Frequently, I spent afternoons and evenings in the same area interviewing community members, civic leaders, and other community members. I also left the school campus periodically to become acquainted with the people in the shops and stores and businesses surrounding the school.

The first week of work at the school was spent talking with the students, the school, and the teachers. A field trip planned for that time enabled me to become better acquainted with the students under more natural conditions than was possible within the school setting. During the field trip I took many photographs. These photographs provided me with many opportunities to initiate conversations with the students. During the bus ride on the field trip, the students began chanting some rhymes. I elicited their cooperation in copying down these rhymes. Soon students began sharing Cuban sayings and proverbs with me. Together we have collected over 265 different expressions. While this linguistic collection is not a part of the research, the interaction which occurred between myself and the students as we collaborated to make the collection gave me many additional insights into their cultural perceptions, as well as their linguistic knowledge.

After the first week, the students began to talk openly with me. During the second week, I began inviting them individually to the small room that had been designated as my office. This small room was the storage area for some of the school's paper supplies and ditto machines. However, the material stored there was used infrequently.

A major problem in data collection was the noise made by jet airplanes flying overhead. The school is directly in the flight path of the planes landing and leaving from a very busy airport. Frequently, we had to pause during oral testing because of the noise. Students and teachers are accustomed to this noise because it occurs in the instructional areas throughout the school day. There was no way to avoid this noise contamination.

The order for completing individual tasks was as follows: students filled out the information on the cover of the LAS II in Spanish. They then listened and responded to the LAS Sentence Comprehension subsection. Students then listened to the prerecorded LAS II story, "Los Astronautas," and retold the story on a cassette tape. Next they recorded directions for playing a game. The game they usually gave directions to was parchisi. Some students gave directions to checkers. Next the students listened to the prerecorded LAS II story, "El Amor del Principe y la Princesa." After listening to this story students wrote the story as they remembered it. All subsections of the individualized tests were administered in exactly the same manner, using a standard format of directions. When students had completed those four activities, they returned to their classroom. Within the next 2 days, they repeated the same process in English, omitting the part with the directions for playing a game. They listened and retold the story, "Pink Chiffon," and listened and wrote the story, "Hotel Street," from the LAS II in English.

When all 41 students had been individually tested in Spanish and English, they were administered the Student Survey as a group. I was

surprised at the number of strange questions that the students asked as they filled out the survey. Examples of some of the questions were, "Do I count myself when I'm counting the older brothers and sisters in my family?" Or, "Do I count the number of years I have been at this school in the number of years I have been in school in Cuba?" The bilingual teachers felt that the students were teasing when they raised these questions. After students completed the survey as a group, they were instructed in how to help their parents fill out the Parent Survey. These instructions, I felt, were necessary because of students' behavior when filling out the Student Survey. Students were then asked to give the Parent Survey to their parents and to return the surveys to school. At the same time, students were requested to ask their parents to notify the school when the parent interviews could be held. Thirty-nine of the 41 surveys were returned. No parents notified the school about the interviews without further prompting.

Physical education teachers were requested to rate students' participation in physical education class on a scale of 1 to 5, 1 indicating very little participation and 5 indicating a great deal of participation.

The ESL teacher was requested to choose three students from the seventh grade and three from the eighth grade who were considered to be doing well in mastering English, and three from both grades who were not achieving in English. The names of these students were given to the bilingual teachers to determine that they also agreed on these students' progress in English. All three teachers agreed on the six students who were achieving and five of six students who were not

achieving in English. I then followed these students throughout their school day to observe their classroom behavior and their interaction with the other students, teachers, and other people in school.

Students were interviewed individually and in small groups in the testing room. The interviews were recorded on cassette tapes. As an introduction, students were told: they could discuss whatever they wished; they could stop at any time; they were not required to talk about anything they did not want to talk about; and personal information would be held in confidence. They further had the right to ask me any questions which they wished. After giving these instructions, I informed the students I had never been to Cuba but had always wanted to go there; they could help me know what life there was like by telling me about their school experiences. They were encouraged to make me actually see what everything looked like by describing it in as much detail as possible (see Appendices H and I for Student and Parent Interview Schedules). The schedule is an outline of the format of questions which were asked. Questions were open-ended so the students could provide as much or as little information as they desired. After students had talked about Cuba, they were asked to contrast their school life in Cuba with their school life in the U.S. A conscious effort was made by the researcher to avoid any type of question or remark which would indicate a value judgement about what was said.

A similar interview schedule had been developed for the parents. However, only four parents, two males and two females including a husband and wife, participated in the interviews. The reason why so few parents participated in the interviews can only be speculated.

Forty-one students returned letters of permission with parents' signature indicating that parents would participate in an interview. It may be that they did not understand the letter even though it was written in Spanish and approved by the students' teachers as being correctly written. It is possible that the parents were too busy with their work schedules. One girl said her mother did not want to talk about Cuba because it made her sad. One of the parents said she knew why the other parents were reluctant to participate. "They don't want you to hear them speak Spanish. They know their Spanish is bad and they are ashamed of it," she said. Two other students brought notes from home expressing regrets that the parents could not come for the interviews. Both notes stated that because of a heavy work schedule parents were unable to find the time to meet with me. Three more students told me their parents had asked them to tell me they could not come to school. On the last day I was at school, two students invited me to their homes. Unfortunately, I could not go at that time.

Parents were asked to contrast the school systems in the U.S. and in Cuba in as far as they were familiar with them and to discuss any observations which they might have regarding the family's adjustment to their new life in the U.S. and the way their children were learning English.

Both mothers who participated said they were happy to be able to talk about their experiences and were pleased that someone in the U.S. wanted to know about Cuba. Two interviews were conducted in the testing room at school, and two were conducted at the parents' homes.

Test Validity and Reliability

Determining the validity and reliability of the test instruments used in this research has been somewhat difficult. A discussion of the validity and reliability of the tests is presented below.

Inter-American Series Reading Test

The Inter-American Reading Comprehension Test was chosen as an added measure of Spanish reading comprehension. I had used this test on other occasions and found it to be well constructed. I was familiar with the extensive amount of norming data which were available on this test. The ready availability of this data from the publisher has been an attractive feature of this series. The tests have been normed on large sample populations both within the Southwest and in other parts of the country where there are concentrations of Hispanics.

Of the three tests used in this research, the only one that reviewed the seventh edition of Buros (1972) was the Inter-American Reading Series. It was also the only one of the three to be listed in the 1978 edition, although it was not reviewed in that issue. Adams (1972) describes this series as a set of parallel tests in English and Spanish, designed to provide comparable measures of reading ability for use in bilingual settings. The 1950 series was criticized because the Spanish version was an exact translation of the English. The current version, according to Adams, is greatly improved because of the revisions which produced parallel but separate tests in both languages. Content and level of difficulty have been maintained at equivalent standards. Alternate

forms in both English and Spanish are available. Reliabilities for English and Spanish editions are .82 and .68, respectively, for subtests and .90 and .84, respectively, for total scores.

Data on norming samples, as well as validity and reliability, had been reviewed on this test prior to commencement of the research. However, when the publisher was contacted for an update on this data, I was informed that the company had gone out of business.

Language Assessment Battery

The Language Assessment Battery (LAB) was chosen as the language assessment instrument to be used in evaluating the limited English proficient students within the school district where the research was conducted. The choice of this instrument was not mine. The coordinator of the bilingual program admitted that she was not happy with this test but knew of no better equivalent instrument. The coordinator's main complaint with the LAB was that there was only one form for each of the three levels. Tests in English and Spanish are parallel and equivalent and neither is a translation of the other.

The LAB was developed in 1975 by the School Board for the New York City school system in response to a consent decree between the board and ASPIRA of New York. The court case was instigated on behalf of Puerto Rican and other Hispanic children who attended New York City public schools, but who were unable to profit from instruction which was mainly in English. The test was developed to

. . . identify those children whose English language deficiencies prevent them from effectively participating in the learning process, and who can more effectively

participate (in the learning process) in Spanish. Such an improved method will identify the children according to their ability to speak, read, write, and comprehend English and Spanish (Board of Education of the City of New York, 1976, p. 4)

According to the same source, content validity was a main objective for the test producers. All items were reviewed extensively and pilot tested on approximately 7,500 children in the New York City school system. Numerous tables are available in the technical manual. These tables indicate item difficulty, means, standard deviations, reliability coefficients, and standard errors of measurements across grade levels. Intercorrelations of subtests and total scores were computed within, but not across, languages.

At the time the manual was published a larger study involving students in other parts of the U.S. was being conducted with the LAB. A special report on this project was expected in 1976-77. Currently, that report or other technical data on the 1976 LAB does not exist at the Board of Education of the city of New York. No other information was available from the test publishers on other research utilizing the LAB (Abbott, 1983). The Board of Education of the city of New York is currently revising and pilot testing a 1982 version of the LAB which is expected to be available soon. The technical manual has not yet been prepared (Abbott, 1983).

Language Assessment Scales

The Language Assessment Scales (LAS) have been reviewed by many researchers. As of June 1981, 17 studies or journal articles on the LAS were located by BRS (1981). Most information located by this

bibliographic search was either neutral or favorable regarding the LAS. Some of the criticisms of earlier forms of the test, such as no alternate test forms or test-retest information (Berman-Benedek, 1979), have been corrected. Argulewicz and Sanchez (1982) find that the LAS is ". . . one of the more comprehensive and psychometrically sound measures of language assessment" (p. 285). Mace-Matluck and Dominguez (1981) conclude that the LAS I ". . . underestimated the first language ability of the children" (p. 3) and that teacher ratings were a more accurate measure.

De Avila and Duncan (1981) devote 55 pages of their technical manual to the issues of reliability and validity. They conclude that

. . . oral language proficiency as assessed by the LAS could be viewed as a necessary (albeit, not sufficient) precondition for school achievement. The data presented which addressed the discriminate validity of the test showed the test to be extremely capable in discriminating limited from proficient native speakers. (p. 116)

In their 1982 study, De Avila and Duncan find that observational data used in addition to the information gained through administration of the LAS can increase the reliability of the language assessment. They conclude that further research is needed utilizing mean length of utterance (MLU) measures to determine ". . . the exact 'markers' which go to make up the global score" (p. 20). The value of this procedure will be to enhance both the reliability and validity of the assessment procedure (De Avila & Duncan, 1982).

In reviewing five widely used oral language assessment instruments for bilingual children, Bordie, Bernal, Bradley, Christian, Galvan, Holley, Leos, Mace-Matluck, Matluck, Natalicio, Oakland, and Richard

(1979) concluded that

. . . if our committee were evaluating these six [five--correction] tests based on standards commonly accepted in our profession (e.g. standards for Educational and Psychological tests), all would be judged inadequate by these standards and therefore the committee would be unable to recommend the unqualified use of any of these measures. (p. 4)

Both the LAB and LAS were among the five tests reviewed by this committee. It appears that recent research with the LAS (De Avila & Duncan, 1981, 1982) have corrected some of the shortcomings indicated by the committee.

The lack of apparently well constructed language assessment instruments is a serious limitation in this research. However, the instruments used, especially the last two, are currently widely used in the U.S. to make important decisions regarding students' placement and progress.

Data Analysis

As initial participant data were collected, all participants were assigned a research code number including age, sex, grade, sequential order of participation, and last grade attended in Cuba. Data were analyzed by grade, sex, and age. Correlations were performed between data collected with different instruments, between subtests using the same forms, and between different languages on different forms of the same instruments. The written language samples were collected and analyzed together with other written language measures.

Scores were collapsed to form components, oral and written language scores, and overall or total language scores in English and Spanish. Correlations were performed between the components and

between global scores. Correlations were also performed between teachers' ratings. Comparisons were made of the whole group by grade, by sex, and by age.

Results of the students' and parents' surveys were tabulated. Frequency and percentage distributions are displayed on these data. These results provide a profile of students' and parents' expressed beliefs about their language behavior and expected usage. Two Chi-square analyses of these data were also performed.

The overwhelming amount of information which was gathered through participant observation and formal and informal interviews has been utilized to provide information in testing Hypotheses Two and Three. Initially, some of the data have been condensed and included into composite descriptions representative of a number of the participants. These descriptions are designed to enable the reader to visualize and understand these participants as people.

CHAPTER FOUR RESULTS

Language is a vehicle of social interaction, and as such cannot be understood or analyzed as an isolated entity, apart from the larger social context in which it is used. The variety of methods for data collection and analysis used in this study are complementary; together, they provide a more comprehensive picture of the interaction of the students within the systems established by the community and the school than any single method could provide. By highlighting these interactions, some of the forces facilitating or inhibiting the second language acquisition of the students in this study can be observed. Erickson (1981) believes that the most essential contribution of ethnographic research is its use of key descriptions and functionally descriptive terms to convey an understanding of the social context. Ethnography uses key incidents to illustrate the more abstract principles of social organization.

Methods of social science research have often been modeled after methods used in physics and other hard sciences. Research designs in the hard sciences are intended to present point values of variables, while research designs measuring human behavior are more concerned with predicting probable differences. Second language acquisition theory must be based on more than mathematical probabilities; it must be founded on the realities of human experience. Ethnographic research utilizes a great deal of contextual information to support the propositions tested (Pelto & Pelto, 1970).

Hypothesis One utilizes mathematical analysis of test data on students' acquisition of two languages to determine if there is a statistically significant relationship between the two languages. Hypothesis Two looks at the contextual influence of the environment in which the students live and learn to observe some of the factors influencing language acquisition. Hypothesis Three looks at students' own behavior as a factor influencing their learning.

A comprehensive description of the community, the school, the students, their parents, and the school teachers and staff is provided as evidence in support of the propositions tested. In writing the descriptions, care has been taken to disguise many of the locations, events, and people presented. Participants may recognize themselves within the scenes, yet, they will realize that details have been changed to increase anonymity while insuring accuracy. Naturally, names of participants have been changed.

The presentation of the data is organized to relate the findings as they pertain to the hypotheses and research questions.

Hypothesis and Research Questions One

Using standardized written and oral measurements, students judged to be more proficient in Spanish will be found to make significantly more progress in learning English than students who are determined to be less proficient in Spanish. Research questions: For these students, is there a relationship between first language ability and second language acquisition? Does greater ability in first language facilitate the acquisition of the second?

Quantitative Measures of Expressive Language

The Language Assessment Scale II (LAS II) was used to collect written and oral language samples of the Cuban participants. Table 4-1 displays the ratings of these samples.

On oral samples in English, the student mean was 1.6, more than a half point higher than on the written samples. For both the written and oral ratings in English the scale had to be extended to include 0, because a total of six students produced so little language that it could not be measured. Only one of the students was consistent in producing this limited amount in both the written and oral samples.

The positions of the oral and written measures are reversed in the Spanish measures. Written expression was rated as being almost 1 point higher than the oral. In comparing English oral sample ratings with Spanish oral sample ratings, it can be seen that Spanish was rated only 1 point higher than English. Only the correlation of Spanish oral scores was significantly correlated with rank on total Spanish score. On the written samples the students were rated as 1.8 points higher in Spanish than in English.

Discussion of findings on expressive language

Ratings in English and Spanish using the LAS language samples were done by two independent groups who, although they were provided instruction in how to do the ratings and were given the same rating scales, were working independently of each other. I was present during all the oral ratings and I agreed almost completely with the ratings using the language sample available on the tape.

Table 4-1

Language Assessment Scale (LAS) Oral and Written Measures in English and Spanish; Correlations with Total English and Spanish Scores

Mean, Standard Deviation, and Range on LAS

	\bar{Y}	σ	Range	n
English				
Written	1.0	.39	0.0-2.0	41
Oral	1.6	.67	0.0-2.8	41
Spanish				
Written	3.4	.92	2.0-5.0	41
Oral	2.6	.93	1.2-5.0	41

Mean, Standard Deviation, and Range on Total Scores

	\bar{Y}	σ	Range	n
English				
	13.9	4.5	1.0-22.0	41
Spanish				
	19.6	3.4	8.0-25.3	41

Correlations of LAS with Rank on Total English and Rank on Total Spanish Scores

	<u>English</u>		<u>Spanish</u>	
	r	α	r	α
<u>English</u>				
Written	.28	.07	.20	.19
Oral	.27	.08	-.05	.75
<u>Spanish</u>				
Written	.08	.61	.28	.07
Oral	.28	.07	.36	.01

It appears that students' capacity to express themselves in written Spanish exceeds their capacity to express themselves orally. An alternative explanation may also be that in spite of the training, the Cuban raters had certain expectations for oral and written language production. When the effect of pronunciation and intonation were removed, the written expression met these expectations to a greater degree than the oral. An additional explanation of the differences between the oral and the written ratings is that the four stories which the students were requested to retell are not actually parallel. Both stories retold orally in English and Spanish are about a rock band and are very similar in both languages. This similarity may provide a degree of confusion for students who are just learning a second language. The behavior of the two rock bands in these stories is culturally different from Cuban behavioral norms. The two stories that were retold in writing are widely dissimilar. The hotel story which was retold in written English presents concepts about a capitalistic society with which the newly arrived Cubans may be unfamiliar. Although the Cubans said they had never heard the Mexican legend which was retold in written Spanish, the ideas presented there were familiar to them. None of the available language tests were normed on a population of Cuban-Cubans.

Teachers' Ratings of Oral Proficiency

As an added measure of reliability, teachers were asked to rate the students using the Oral Proficiency Rating Scale (Appendix F) (Mace-Matluck, 1980, with adaptations to include the work of Damico et

al., 1981). The mean of the teachers' ratings, displayed on Table 4-2, are much higher than those of the language sample raters--3.9 compared to 2.6.

There is a high correlation between all the language factors as well as the overall communicative skill scores of the two bilingual teachers who rated the students in Spanish. However, the correlation of overall communicative skill (.81) does not correlate with the students' total scores in Spanish (-.09).

The mean rating for overall communicative skill in English given by the ESL teacher is almost 3.0, as compared to the oral language sample rating of 1.6. This overall rating indicates the ESL teacher considers the students to have achieved some degree of communicative competence in English. The overall communicative skill ratings which the ESL teacher gave are significantly correlated with students' total language scores in English (.38).

The ratings of the two bilingual teachers indicate they find the students to be fluent, but somewhat limited, in Spanish. The ESL teacher finds the students are functioning at a somewhat competent, but limited, stage in English.

Discussion of teachers' ratings

It was expected that both the ESL and bilingual teachers' ratings of the students' language proficiency would be significantly correlated with total language scores (Mace-Matluck, 1980). There are several possible explanations for the differences in correlations between the bilingual and the ESL teachers. The bilingual teachers provide instruction in the content areas. Their instructional style is lecture

Table 4-2

Teachers' Evaluations of Oral Proficiency

Correlations of Bilingual Teachers' Ratings
on Factors of Oral Proficiency

	r	α
Pronunciation	.794	.0001
Grammar	.745	.0001
Vocabulary	.673	.0001
Comprehension	.502	.001
Overall Communicative Skill	.810	.0001

Mean Scores Given by the Bilingual Teachers
and ESL Teacher

	\bar{Y}	Language
Bilingual Teacher 1	3.87	Spanish
Bilingual Teacher 2	4.31	Spanish
ESL Teacher	2.97	English

Correlation of Mean Bilingual Teachers' Scores of Overall
Communicative Skill and Rank on Total Spanish Scores

\bar{Y}	r	α
4.2	-.091	.573

Correlation of ESL Teacher Scores of Overall Communicative
Skill and Rank on Total English Scores

\bar{Y}	r	α
2.97	.383	.01

rather than student-teacher interaction. Their classes are large and they do not have an opportunity to interact with students on a one-to-one basis. Although Spanish is the primary language of instruction in the bilingual classes, students respond in written English exercises. English is the language of evaluation. It is possible that had the bilingual teachers rated the students in English, the correlation may have had a stronger relationship to total achievement. The reason for the lack of correlation between the bilingual teachers' ratings and total language score is not known. This lack of significant correlation is not a reflection of the teachers' ability to teach or dedication to their students, to be sure.

Composition of Language Scores

A written Spanish language score was achieved for each student by collapsing the total Spanish spring LAB percentile score with the Inter-American percentile reading score, the LAS sentence comprehension, and written story retelling subsections percentile scores. The same procedure was performed to obtain the written English language score, with the exception of the Inter-American reading score which was not available in English. A total language score was obtained in each language by combining the total written language score with a weighted oral language score. Analysis of the subtests making up the total score reveals that some components are more significantly correlated with total language ability than are others.

Measures of listening

Table 4-3 shows correlations of listening scores with total scores in both languages using the LAB and the LAS measures. The sentence comprehension subsection of the LAS was judged to be a similar measure of listening when compared with the listening subsection of the LAB. Listening skill appears to be correlated with language achievement across languages. The fall LAB listening score in Spanish is significantly correlated with total English score although the fall listening score in English shows only a tendency toward significance. Both the spring LAB listening scores in English and Spanish are highly correlated with English total score. The English score shows a remarkable change. Both the English and Spanish scores are significantly correlated with total Spanish score.

Discussion of listening scores

The students' knowledge of English and their skill in listening may have increased over the time period between the administration of the LAS in February and LAB in April. It may also possibly be that since there are not parallel forms of the LAB and the same form was administered in the fall and spring, the students' October LAB experience provided them with sufficient prior knowledge to improve the spring test scores. The LAB listening scores are significantly correlated consistently in both the fall and spring with rank on total Spanish scores. An alternative and more probable explanation is that as students' English skills increase, as measured by their increased skill in listening comprehension, the relationship between listening

Table 4-3

Measures of Listening Proficiency

Correlations of Listening Scores and
Rank on Total English Scores

	<u>English</u>		<u>Spanish</u>	
	r	α	r	α
Fall LAB	.287	.076	.344	.02
Spring LAB	.769	.0001	.454	.003
LAS	.155	.332	.237	.134

Correlations of Listening Scores and
Rank on Total Spanish Scores

	<u>English</u>		<u>Spanish</u>	
	r	α	r	α
Fall LAB	.032	.843	.422	.006
Spring LAB	.433	.005	.454	.003
LAS	.271	.086	.284	.071

and total language becomes more highly correlated. The score on the LAS sentence comprehension subsection is not significantly correlated with either total English or total Spanish scores although there is a tendency toward significance with the total Spanish scores.

Measures of reading

Table 4-4 provides an analysis of reading measures. The first section of the table displays the correlations between the Inter-American and the LAB tests in Spanish. The second and third sections show the correlations in reading with total rank on English and Spanish. For some unexplained reason, the spring LAB reading score in Spanish is not correlated with the Inter-American reading score in Spanish, although it is highly correlated with the fall LAB reading score in the same language. Although all three measures are highly correlated with the total Spanish score, they are unrelated to total English score.

Discussion of reading scores

It appears that students have not made sufficient progress in reading to establish significant correlations in English. Reading ability is a measure of CALP. It is a skill which requires a great deal of time to develop in the second language (Cummins, 1980). Reading comprehension appears to be the skill that was the least developed and correlated in English.

Correlations of written measures by age and sex

Table 4-5 displays the correlations of Spanish and English written language by age and sex. While measures in the two languages appear to

Table 4-4
Measures of Reading Ability

Correlations of Measures of Reading in Spanish

		<u>Inter-American</u>	
	r	α	n
Fall LAB	.506	.0001	38
Spring LAB	.181	.282	38

Correlations of Measures of Reading in
English with Rank on Total English Scores

		<u>English</u>	
	r	α	n
Fall LAB	.137	.398	40
Spring LAB	.138	.392	40

Correlations of Measures of Reading in
Spanish with Rank on Total Spanish Scores

		<u>Spanish</u>	
	r	α	n
Inter-American	.826	.0001	38
Fall LAB	.519	.0006	40
Spring LAB	.519	.0006	40

Table 4-5
Correlations of Written English and Spanish Scores

	r	α	n
Age 12	.463	.094	14
Age 13	.588	.01	18
Age 14	.412	.40	6
Age 15	-.702	.50	3
Females	.295	.18	22
Males	.583	.008	19
Total	.427	.005	41

be significantly correlated for 13-year-olds (.59), there is only a tendency toward significance for the 12-year-olds (.46), and none for the older students (.41 and -.7). The age variable presents a confusing pattern in this table, with the 18 13-year-olds showing a significant correlation and 14 12-year-olds showing none. Sex is the important variable here. Nine of the 14 12-year-olds are female; 11 of the 18 13-year-olds are male. For females, there is no significant correlation (.29), but for males there is (.58). When all the students' scores are combined, there is a very significant correlation between the written scores in English and Spanish (.43) for the group.

Correlations of oral and written measures

Correlations of oral and written language measures with rank on total scores are displayed on Table 4-6. Analysis of these data reveals that for females both oral English and oral Spanish are significantly correlated with total English (.008) and total Spanish (.04). Written English and written Spanish are also significantly correlated with total English (.0001) and Spanish (.0001). There is nothing surprising about these correlations: written and oral measures of English are components which are significantly correlated with their total. Written and oral measures in Spanish are significantly correlated with their total. However, for males, not only does this pattern of component correlations hold true, but there are additional significant correlations as well. All components, except oral English, are correlated with their totals and with the totals of the alternate language as well. Oral and written Spanish are significantly correlated with rank on total English

Table 4-6

Correlations of Rank on Total English Scores and Rank on
Total Spanish Scores by Sex and Component

	<u>Total English</u>		<u>Total Spanish</u>		
	r	α	r	α	n
Females					
Oral Spanish	.236	.288	.449	.035	22
Oral English	.545	.008	.139	.535	22
Written Spanish	.294	.183	.997	.0001	22
Written English	.997	.0001	.295	.181	22
Males					
Oral Spanish	.587	.008	.465	.044	19
Oral English	.579	.009	.205	.398	19
Written Spanish	.552	.014	.998	.0001	19
Written English	.999	.0001	.583	.008	19
Total Group					
Total Spanish	.432	.004			41

(.003 and .02); written English is significantly correlated with rank on total Spanish (.008) as well. For the total group, rank on total English is significantly correlated with rank on total Spanish.

Comparison of Male and Female Students

Table 4-7 shows the means, standard deviations, and the range of the students' scores by sex. There are no differences in Spanish; there are differences between male and female scores in English. Statistical comparisons of means of males and females do not reveal any significant differences. Yet analysis of correlations of total language scores do indicate significant differences between males and females. Analysis of ethnographic data confirms these findings and will be discussed later.

Entire Cuban Group

Although only 41 of the 63 Cuban students participated in the individual section of the research, additional data were collected on the entire group. Information on these students is provided in order to present a more complete picture of the relationship of first language ability to second language acquisition for the Cuban population at this junior high school. Data were collected in a variety of ways. While observing the participating Cubans, it was impossible not to observe the others; in informal conversations, the nonparticipants joined the participants. All students in the program were administered the standardized group test, LAB, as previously described. An analysis of students' achievement by rank order, as well as change over time,

Table 4-7

Comparison of Male and Female Scores in English and Spanish

	<u>Males</u>			<u>Females</u>			α
	\bar{Y}	σ	Range	\bar{Y}	σ	Range	
English							
Oral	1.7	0.5	1.0- 2.8	1.4	0.8	0.0- 2.6	.25
Written	28.2	6.0	16.5-41.0	24.5	10.6	1.0-40.0	.17
Total	15.0	3.2	8.8-22.0	13.0	5.3	1.0-21.5	.15
Spanish							
Oral	2.5	1.0	1.2- 5.0	2.8	0.8	1.8- 4.2	.24
Written	37.0	4.8	29.0-45.7	36.2	7.7	13.0-46.0	.71
Total	19.7	2.7	15.5-25.3	19.5	3.9	8.0-24.5	.83

provides insight into the relationship of first language proficiency to second language acquisition.

In discussing the data collected on the entire group, those who participated in the individual testing will be referred to as "participants," and those who did not as "nonparticipants." An analysis of these data (Table 4-8) reveals that seven nonparticipants ranked at the same level as the high Spanish and English achievers, the top third of the research group. Four of these seven students were the females who had volunteered to participate in the study but returned their permission papers after the deadline. Ten of the remaining students ranked at the same level or below the bottom third of the research group. Some of these students did not have complete test information. The incompleteness of their scores is a reflection of their achievement. Class participation and written work indicate their Spanish to be more limited than that of any of the students who participated in the study. According to the teachers, two of the students stated they had not attended school at all in Cuba. On several occasions, the teachers remarked that although the quality of these students' work was still very poor, the students were showing remarkable improvement.

Two nonparticipating students ranked in the middle of both Spanish and English. Two were ranked in the high-achieving group in English although they ranked in the low-achieving group in Spanish. These two were the only ones to have such extreme differences in ranking, as high in the language they were learning and low in their first language. Only three other students, two male participants and one female nonparticipant, ranked as high in English and medium in Spanish.

Table 4-3

Comparison of Students by Rank on Total LAB Scores

Low Group	N
English--low/Spanish--low	10
English--low/Spanish--medium	9
English--low/Spanish--high	<u>0</u>
Group Total	19
Medium Group	N
English--medium/Spanish--low	7
English--medium/Spanish--medium	10
English--medium/Spanish--high	<u>4</u>
Group Total	21
High Group	N
English--high/Spanish--low	2
English--high/Spanish--medium	3
English--high/Spanish--high	<u>14</u>
Group Total	19
Insufficient Information	4
Total	63

In medium and low groups, 10 were ranked the same in both English and Spanish; in the high group, this occurred with 14. In all three groups, those who were equally ranked in both languages outnumbered those who are unequally ranked. Since additional data were not collected on the nonparticipants, nothing is known about their background. It must be emphasized that although the students were ranked by English and Spanish ability, these are not equivalent rankings. Raw scores and stanine scores in Spanish for the group are higher than English.

All LAB scores for October 1981 and May 1982 were available for all limited English proficient (LEP) students enrolled in the bilingual program who took the tests. However, only the stanines (Table 4-9) and the writing subsections (Table 4-10) are presented here in tabular form because they show the greatest areas of contrast.

Stanine scores

The stanine scores, which are indicative of overall language performance on the LAB in English and Spanish, reveal that both groups are gaining in English. The participants' scores increased by .96, or almost one full stanine from October to May, while the nonparticipants gained .48, or almost one-half stanine for the same period. In Spanish, the participants' scores decreased by .59, while the nonparticipants declined by .9, a .31 difference. Although the nonparticipants scored higher in the fall in English, the participants surpassed them in the spring. The nonparticipants are gaining less rapidly in English and losing more rapidly in Spanish. The difference between the two groups was not statistically significant at the time

Table 4-9
Comparison Between Groups and Seasons on the
Language Assessment Battery, Stanines

	English					Spanish						
	<u>pa</u>		<u>NPb</u>			<u>pa</u>		<u>NPb</u>				
	<u>Y</u>	σ	n	<u>Y</u>	σ	n	<u>Y</u>	σ	n			
Fall 1981	1.07	0.39	28	1.40	0.51	10	7.15	1.48	28	7.00	2.22	10
Spring 1982	2.03	1.10	38	1.88	1.16	17	6.56	1.04	38	5.81	1.32	17

	<u>English</u>	<u>Spanish</u>
	α	α
Between groups	.110	.274
Between seasons	.000	.000
Between groups and seasons	.400	.138

^aParticipants in individual research.
^bNonparticipants in individual research.

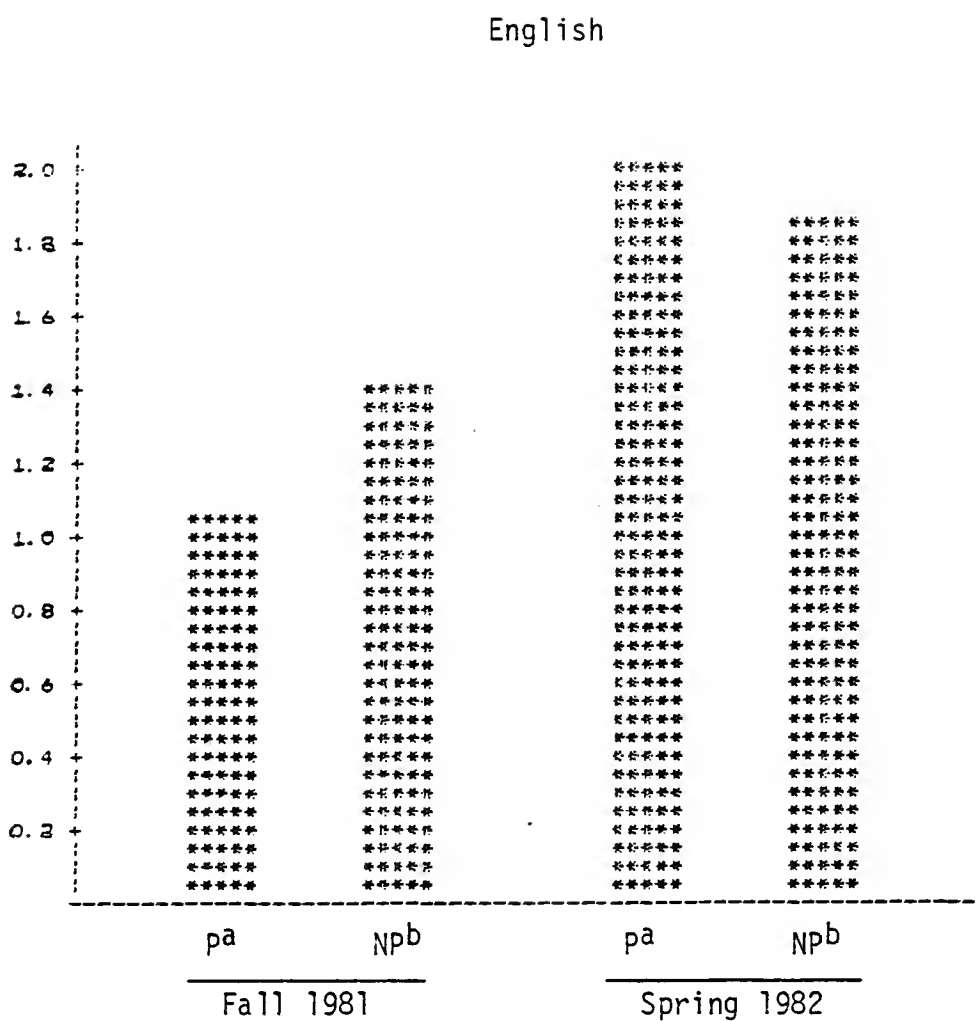


Figure 4-1. Comparison between groups and seasons on the Language Assessment Battery, Stanines.

^aParticipants in individual research.

^bNonparticipants in individual research.

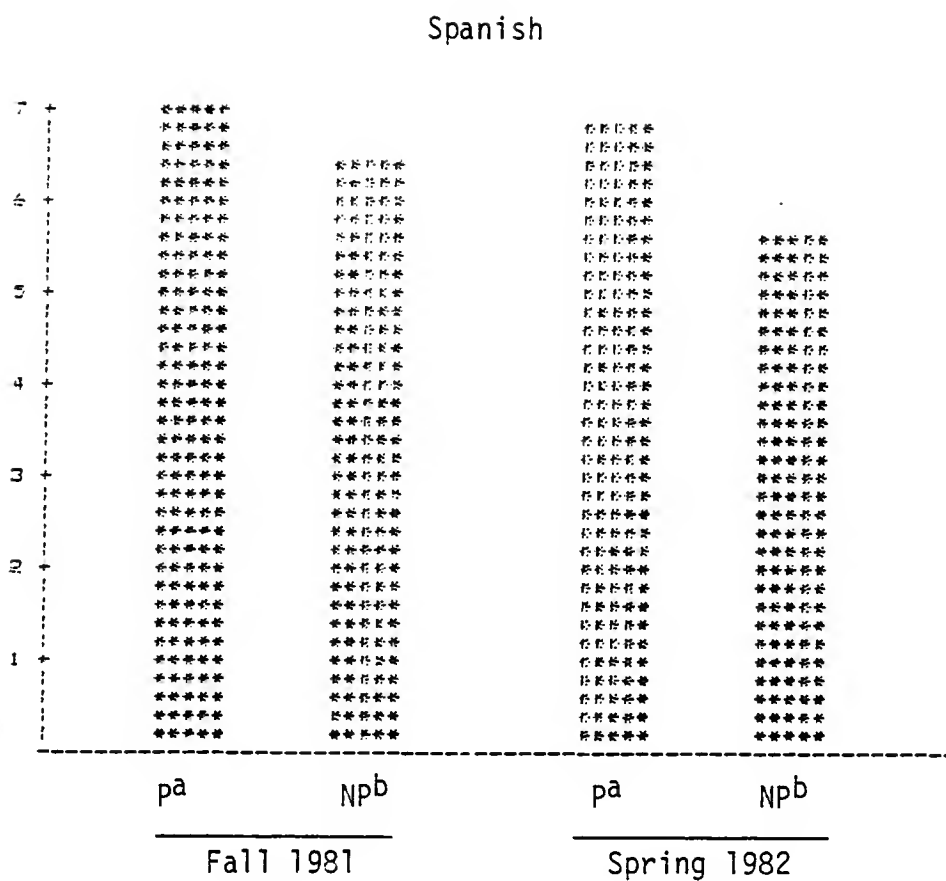


Figure 4-2. Comparison between groups and seasons on the Language Assessment Battery, Stanines.

^aParticipants in individual research.

^bNonparticipants in individual research.

the data were collected. Figure 4-1 shows the change in total English scores between October and May. Figure 4-2 shows the change in Spanish for the same period.

Writing subsection

In the writing subsection of the LAB, the participants showed a gain of 4.08, while the nonparticipants gained 3.0 in English between fall and spring test administrations. In Spanish, the participants' scores increased by .8, while the nonparticipants' scores decreased by .31. Comparisons between groups and seasons indicate a statistically significant difference between groups and seasons in English but not in Spanish. Figure 4-3 shows the change in writing scores in English between October and May. Figure 4-4 shows the change in Spanish for the same period.

Discussion of Findings Regarding Hypothesis and Research Questions One

In spite of the care that was taken in designing and conducting the research, there are several flaws in the process. Two different groups of language sample raters were used to rate the students' language samples. The purpose for using two groups was to have raters who were very familiar with the languages. These two groups of raters were chosen because of their experience in working with bilingual children. Cuban-American teachers rated the Spanish; U.S. teachers rated the English. Each group received scoring training in scoring the language samples according to the instructions provided by the test producers (De Avila & Duncan, 1981). Nevertheless, it is highly

Table 4-10
Comparison Between Groups and Seasons on the
Language Assessment Battery, Writing Subtest

	English						Spanish					
	<u>p^a</u>			<u>NP^b</u>			<u>p^a</u>			<u>NP^b</u>		
	<u>Y</u>	<u>σ</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>Y</u>	<u>σ</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>Y</u>	<u>σ</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>Y</u>	<u>σ</u>	<u>n</u>
Fall 1981	8.17	3.32	20	7.66	4.33	13	18.07	2.10	39	16.94	4.26	11
Spring 1982	12.25	3.52	28	10.66	4.70	15	18.87	1.50	39	16.63	3.97	19
	<u>English</u>						<u>Spanish</u>					
	<u>α</u>						<u>α</u>					
Between groups	.025						.324					
Between seasons	.357						.000					
Between groups and seasons	.035						.402					

^aParticipants in individual research.

^bNonparticipants in individual research.

English

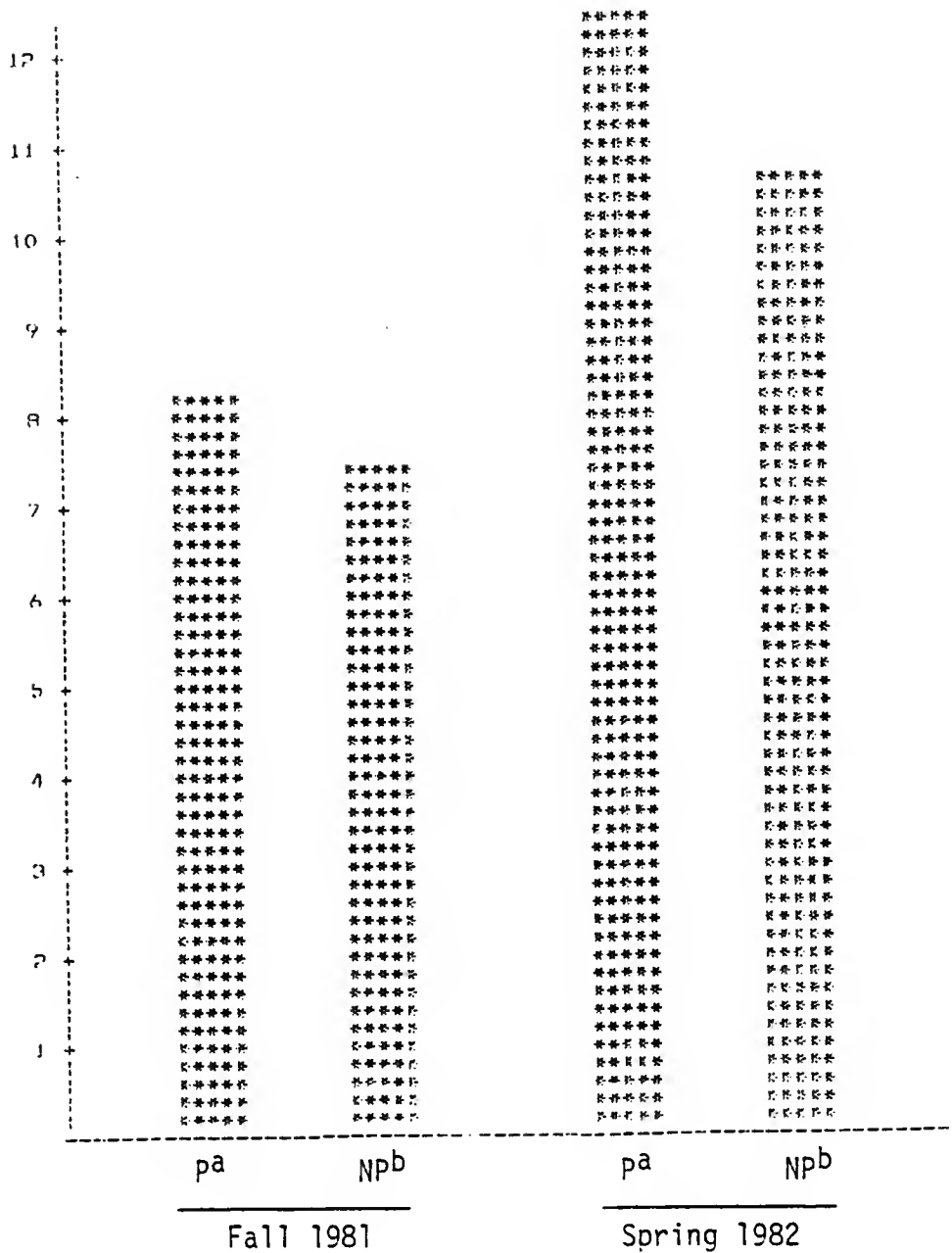


Figure 4-3. Comparison between groups and seasons on the Language Assessment Battery, Writing Subtest.

^aParticipants in individual research.

^bNonparticipants in individual research.

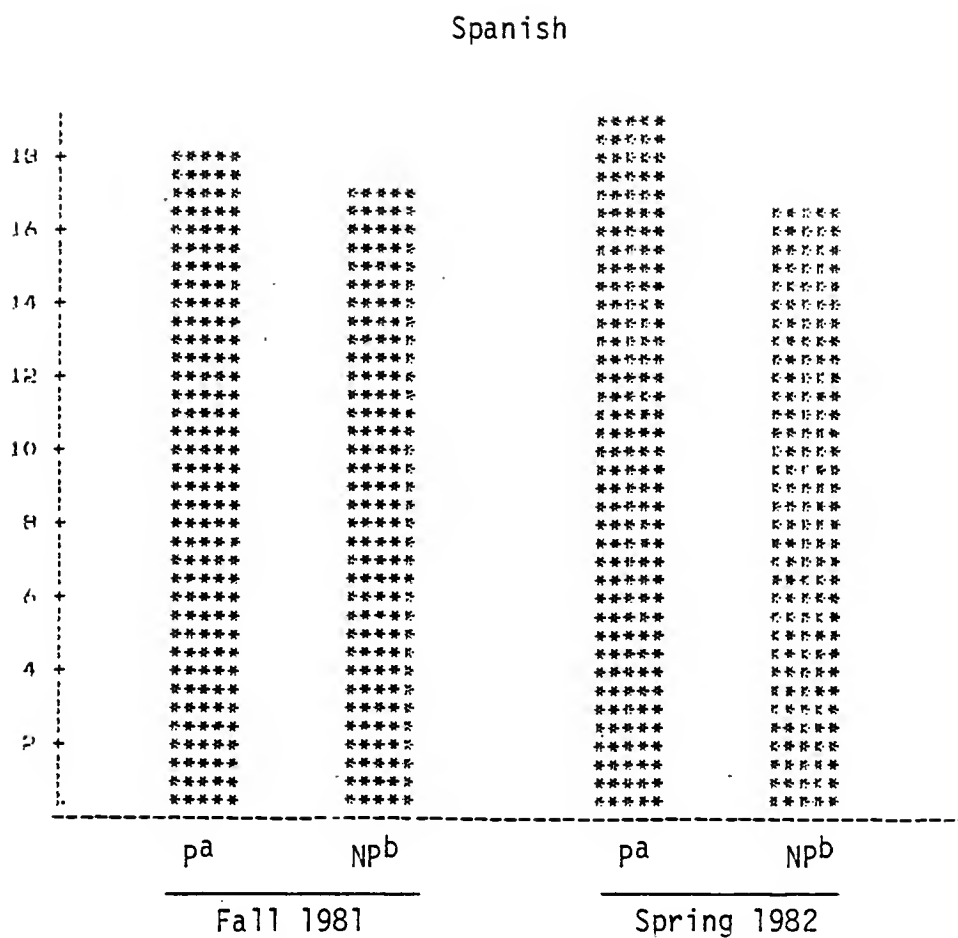


Figure 4-4. Comparison between groups and seasons on the Language Assessment Battery, Writing Subtest.

^aParticipants in individual research.

^bNonparticipants in individual research.

probable that they may have also scored the samples based on their own ethnic criteria of what constituted proficient speech.

It is questionable whether the scores represent the actual linguistic proficiency of the students. Both the scorers and I noted the LAS II #634, Form A, English "Pink Chiffon" and LAS II #637, Form A, Spanish "Los Astronautas" are very similar stories in English and Spanish. Using two such similar stories in the two languages may have caused confusion for the students, possibly encouraging them to attempt to retell the same story twice rather than retell two different stories. The second set of stories on cassettes, LAS II #634, Form A, English "Hotel Street" and LAS II #637, Form A, Spanish "El Amor del Principe" are very dissimilar. The English story, "Hotel Street," contains many concepts with which the Spanish-speaking students who recently arrived from socialist Cuba may not be familiar. Although the Spanish story, "El Amor del Principe," is a Mexican legend about which none of the students were familiar, the concept ideas in the story were not dissimilar to other stories with which the Cubans are familiar. These similarities and differences could increase or decrease the level of difficulty of the story retelling and, therefore, present a false picture of students' proficiency.

The language samples collected with the LAS II were not necessarily representative of the students' linguistic ability. It is very probable that these students had never experienced a school situation in which they were requested to function individually. It is also very possible that they had never been asked to listen to a story and then retell it in this manner. Although none of the students expressed any reluctance

to entering into the testing situation, the experience may have been so completely new that it established a different set of linguistic norms for the students. Observations made while administering the sentence comprehension subsection of the LAS II tend to confirm this notion. Even though the directions were provided in a standardized form as suggested in the test, students had difficulty following the sequence in the test booklet. Twenty-four of the 41 students had to be reminded to turn the page or to look at the pictures on the next page to locate the answers. While the process of turning pages and listening may be one that is learned very early in the U.S. educational system, experience in working with a well-educated graduate student from South America confirms that some "normal" behaviors are culturally bound and are not universal. Differences in the types and colors of the pictures, as well as their location on the page, contribute to making the test more difficult for these students. De Avila and Duncan (1982) confirm that observational data are necessary to assure correct classification and to reduce the potential for error in rating the language samples.

Rodriguez-Brown and Elias-Olivares (1981) used the LAS I with two other measures of language proficiency. They observed that "the main problem with current test constructs is that they are based on adult expectations of what children can do rather than on what they actually do linguistically" (p. 44). While this observation is based on the use of the LAS I with elementary students, it is appropriate for the older Cuban students also. Pedraza and Pousada (1980) used observational techniques to evaluate students who were rated on the LAB I as a lingual,

not proficient in either language. Their work reveals that these same students were proficient in both English and Spanish when observed within the neighborhood rather than the school environment.

The focus of this research has been on students who have supposedly gained proficiency in both oral and written expression in their first language and who are in the process of acquiring their second language. The test instruments chosen for this research represent, in the opinion of this researcher, the best nationally used means of assessment currently available. In fairness to the students, these tests are not without flaws and do not provide conclusive information about the students' language proficiency.

On measures of expressive language, students were rated as being more proficient in their oral production in English and written production in Spanish. When correlations of these measures were performed, only the oral Spanish rating was significantly correlated with Spanish total score. There was a tendency towards significance for both the oral and written English scores as well as the oral Spanish score to significantly correlate with English total scores.

Ratings of English proficiency by the ESL teacher were significantly correlated with total English scores. Ratings of Spanish proficiency by the bilingual teachers were not significantly correlated with total Spanish achievement, in spite of the fact that the two teachers' ratings were significantly correlated with each other.

Measures of listening were significantly correlated with total scores within and across languages for the spring administration of the LAB. Increases in listening skill appear to correspond to general

gains in language ability. The same relationship did not occur in reading. In spite of the significant correlations in Spanish, there were no similar correlations in English.

Comparisons of correlations of language acquisition and proficiency by sex have proven to be the most interesting feature of this analysis. The range and standard deviations of the Spanish scores obtained by the males indicate that they are scoring higher than some of the females. This difference is not significant. The means for both sexes on oral, written, and total scores are very similar. The differences in the means, ranges, and standard deviations in English produce a trend toward a significant difference between the sexes. Correlations of proficiency and acquisition by sex reveal that for the males, those who are more proficient in Spanish are learning English more rapidly. This relationship is not true for the females, although there is a tendency toward significance for them also. Students who scored in the lower third of the group in Spanish tended to be in the lower third in English. The same relationship occurred for the middle and high groups. When the results of the students who participated in the research were compared with those who did not participate, there was no statistically significant difference between the two groups in terms of overall achievement as indicated by stanine measures. There was a significant difference between the groups on the writing subtest in English. The participants' language skills are increasing in both English and Spanish. The nonparticipants' Spanish skills have decreased slightly while English has increased. Nonparticipants scored statistically lower in English on both the fall and spring administrations of the LAB in the writing subsection.

Conclusions Regarding Hypothesis and Research Questions One

The analysis of the data reveal that as a group the students who were judged to be more proficient in Spanish were found to make significantly more progress in learning English than students who were determined to be less proficient in Spanish. There is a relationship between first language fluency and second language acquisition. Greater ability in first language appears to facilitate acquisition of the second. Analysis of the statistical data reveals that for the group, this relationship does exist. In this study, the relationship between first language proficiency and second language acquisition is stronger for males than for females. The variable of sex or the cultural expectations for sexual roles appears to be a mediating factor in the relationship between language proficiency and language acquisition.

Hypothesis and Research Question Two

Students whose parents, family members, relatives, and other significant community members are reinforcing learning by their behavior will make more progress toward acquiring English skills as measured by ethnographic means than students whose parents, family members, relatives, and significant community members do not. The research question: What is happening at home and in the community and the school environment that is inhibiting or facilitating the acquisition of English?

To test this hypothesis and answer the research question a variety of measures and methods were used. The first section of data to be

presented is information on the students and their parents, the results of the students' and parents' surveys, and student and parent interviews.

Students and Parents

Before I was introduced to the students, I wondered if I would be able to distinguish the Cubans from the other students in the bilingual classes. Working with the 1970 Cuban refugees I noticed that when many of the children arrived at school the first day they seemed pale and small for their age. I wondered if this might be the case for these students. I thought that perhaps the trauma they had suffered might have marked them in some identifiable way. But no, they were like all the other bilingual students in their classes. They blended in with the rest of the student body of the school. They appeared well-fed, many on the plump side of healthy. Most were attractive. The majority were well-groomed and clean. Hair color ran the spectrum from very blond to red to black. Skin coloration ran from very fair to black, fair complexion predominated. Most students wore fashionable clothing. Many students wore gold jewelry, chains, earrings, rings, and bracelets.

The teachers told me that when the students first arrived some were thin and pale as I had encountered in the 1970 group. In the 1½ years that most had been in the U.S. they had changed a great deal, according to the teachers.

Description of the students

Within the research population of 41 students, there were 36 families. Five families had two children each in this junior high school group. Of these five families, there were a brother and a sister, four sisters, and four brothers. One boy lived with his grandparents and two sisters lived with their mother only.

Not until the students filled out the Student Survey did I realize the political organization of Cuba had changed in terms of the names and sizes of the provinces. Prior to the Revolution, Cuba had six provinces; now it has 14. The Cuban-American teachers were also unaware of this geographic change. All but one student knew the former name of the province where they attended school. Using the former Cuban identification of six provinces, the distribution of provinces where students last lived and attended school is displayed in Table 4-11. For reference, the new names are: Pinar del Rio, Provincia de la Ciudad de la Habana, La Habana, Matanzas, Cienfuegos, Villa Clara, Sancti Spiritus, Ciego de Avila, Camagüey, Las Tunas, Holguín, Granma, Santiago de Cuba, Guantánamo (Atlas de Cuba, 1978).

It appears that students and parents did not change the location of their residence a great deal, because most of the parents who answered the survey indicated they were born in the same province where their children attended school. Only five of the parents who responded indicated they were not from the same province where their children attended school prior to emigration (see Table 4-12).

Students' birth dates range from the oldest--a girl--born on December 28, 1966 to the youngest--a girl--born January 5, 1970. Age distribution is fairly even. Ranges are shown in Table 4-13.

Table 4-11
Provinces Where Students Last Attended School

Province	Number of Students
Havana	19
Matanzas	4
Las Villas	13
Camagüey	2
Oriente	2
Pinar del Rio	0
Unknown	1

Table 4-12
Provinces Where Parents Were Born

Province	Number of Parents
Havana	13
Matanzas	6
Las Villas	10
Camagüey	3
Oriente	2
Pinar del Rio	0

Table 4-13
Sex and Range of Birthdates of Students

Birthdates	Number of Girls	Number of Boys
1966	1	0
January-June 1967	1	1
July-December 1967	4	4
January-June 1968	4	3
July-December 1968	3	3
January-June 1969	3	5
July-December 1969	5	3
1970	1	0

Student surveys

Surveys were developed for the students and their parents in order to determine what significant behaviors were occurring at home or in the home environment that were facilitating or inhibiting the acquisition of English. Students were administered the Student Surveys as a group at school. They were then given instructions in how to help parents complete the Parent Survey at home. Where practical, the results of the two surveys are compared.

The results of the Student Survey are presented in Table 4-14. A two-way Chi-square analyses of these data did not reveal any additional significant information not already visible in the percentage displays. Correlations of students' self-ratings with language scores and parents' self-ratings with students' language scores provided some additional significant results. Other correlations of student friendships and self-reports of language use did not reveal any significant differences.

Results of student survey

The results of the Student Survey are self-explanatory. Much has been written about Cuba's "schools in the country." The participants in this research lived with their parents and went to school near their home. None attended the much publicized "schools in the country" (Kozol, 1978; Read, 1972), because of their age at the time of emigration. All but one student had been in school in Cuba for at least 5 years before coming to the U.S.; the majority had been in school 7 or more years. They were in their second year of school in the U.S.; most were in their ninth year of school attendance. Although 32% of the students responded

that they had studied English in Cuba, when questioned about their English studies, all said their parents had taught them a few words. Interviews with many adults reveal that English is only formally taught to people who have specific purposes for studying it. Seventeen percent of the students said they had studied Russian in some afterschool programs. Russian instruction is also available via the radio. When atmospheric conditions permit, Russian instruction over Cuban radio stations can be heard in the U.S., even in Gainesville, Florida. The seven students who reported that they had studied Russian, had actually not learned more than a few words, according to a later interview.

The answers given to question 10 conform to the information received from the interviews. Sports and TV account for 68% of the afterschool activity. Questions 9, 11, 12, 13, and 14 were designed to determine if there were any social isolates. All but two students indicated they had friends who visited them. Ninety-three percent have seven or more friends at school. Fifty percent have friends not at the school. However, 35% have no school friends who visit them at least once a month. Thirty-one percent receive visits ranging from daily to more than once a week. More than 80% receive one or more phone calls daily. This wide range of answers may be attributed to the fact that students are bussed to this school from a large section of the school district. Some travel about 30 miles to school. Because they attend a different school from the other teenagers in their neighborhood and spend a great deal of time on the bus, these students may not have opportunities for social interaction.

Although the majority of students (82%) said they had chores to do, most stated they did not have any jobs to do on a daily basis and

they helped as they were needed. About one-third said they received no help with chores. The same number said no one helped with homework. Mother and/or father were the main people to provide homework assistance. Although only 35 students said they had one or two friends with whom they most enjoyed spending time, all 41 indicated a person with whom they most enjoyed spending time. Almost half of the students chose their friends.

One hundred percent of the students indicated that they wanted to learn English. Helping family, getting better grades, and going to college were almost equally chosen as the most important reasons for learning to speak English, according to the students.

Questions 23 through 36 were used to determine the amount of English or Spanish students believe they used in a variety of situations. Naturally, responses tended to group toward the Spanish end of the scale. In speaking with parents and other adults, Spanish was the dominant language of 80% of the students. The percentage of Spanish decreased to 31.6 when speaking to younger people. It appeared that at least 10% of the students had relatives who generally spoke or only spoke English. Most students (70%) lived in neighborhoods where some English was spoken. Shopping in their neighborhoods required English. Although 34% said they spoke to their friends only or completely in Spanish at school, almost 60% used half and half. Students report that they use Spanish more during school to speak with friends than they do after school. During school, 7% generally used English. Afterschool English use increased to 20%. Almost 70% used only or generally Spanish at church. Interesting here is the fact that 20% found this question not applicable.

Most (73%) listened to the radio and watched TV in English. English appeared to be a preference but not a necessity for radio and television enjoyment. People in south Florida have access to both Spanish radio and television stations. The majority (41%) found that the question of reading the newspaper was not applicable; informal questioning revealed that these students did not read any newspaper. Of those who read the newspaper, 36% read it only or generally in English. A Spanish daily newspaper was available at many local stores. Seventy percent said they generally or only watch English language movies. When questioned informally, about half of the group said they did not know of movies in Spanish. The other half knew of two places where Spanish language movies were shown. The location of these theaters may be too far for most students to travel.

The responses to the questions of whether Spanish should be used and taught at school were interesting. Although 49% thought Spanish should be taught as a subject, 60% thought it should not be used at school. Sixty-one percent thought students could learn both languages at the same time, but 17% of these students thought that it was not possible to learn both well at the same time. Thirty-four percent thought by studying Spanish they would fall behind in English.

For purposes of brevity and for comparison, some of the student responses will be presented with the parents.

Results of parent survey

Results of Parent Survey appear on Table 4-15. Females predominantly completed the survey. All respondents were parents, with

Table 4-14
Results of Student Survey

	Frequency	Percent
1. With whom did you live while you were going to school in Cuba?		
parents	38	92.6
boarding school	2	4.8
other	1	2.4
2. How many years did you attend school in Cuba?		
5 or less	1	2.4
6	17	41.4
7 or more	23	56.0
3. Did you study English in Cuba?		
yes	13	31.7
no	28	68.2
4. Did you study any other language other than English or Spanish?		
yes	7	17.0
no	34	82.9
5. How many older brothers or sisters do you have?		
0	15	36.5
1-2	23	56.0
3-4	3	7.3
5 or more	0	0.0
6. How many younger brothers or sisters do you have?		
0	6	38.9
1-2	21	51.2
3-4	3	7.3
5 or more	1	2.4
7. How many brothers and sisters live with you now?		
0	5	12.1
1-2	28	68.2
3-4	6	14.6
5 or more	2	4.8

Table 4-14--continued

	Frequency	Percent
8. How many other relatives live with you now?		
0	5	12.1
1-2	19	46.3
3-4	11	26.8
5 or more	6	14.6
9. Do your relatives and friends visit you?		
yes	39	97.5
no	1	2.5
10. What do you do most frequently after school?		
sports	10	25.0
watch TV	17	42.5
dance	5	12.5
visit friends	1	2.5
study alone	2	5.0
study with friends	3	7.5
other	2	5.0
11. How many friends do you have at school?		
0	0	0.0
1-2	0	0.0
3-4	2	4.8
5-6	1	2.4
7 or more	38	92.6
12. How many friends do you have that do not attend this school?		
0	4	10.2
1-2	3	7.6
3-4	7	17.9
5-6	5	12.8
7 or more	20	51.2
13. Do your school friends visit you at home?		
no	2	4.8
yes, but not frequently; once a month or less	12	29.2
yes, more than once a month but less than once a week	10	24.3
yes, more than once a week but less than daily	10	24.3
yes, daily or almost daily	7	17.0

Table 4-14--continued

	Frequency	Percent
14. Do you get a lot of phone calls?		
once a week or less	2	5.0
more or less, two to four a week	5	12.5
about one a day	5	12.5
two or more a day	28	70.0
15. Do you have chores to do?		
yes	31	81.5
no	7	18.4
16. If you have chores, which do you do most frequently?		
child care	3	7.3
cleaning	14	34.1
cooking	2	4.8
yard work	11	26.8
other	6	14.6
nothing	5	12.1
17. Does anyone help you with your chores?		
brother/sister	16	39.0
father/mother	12	29.2
grandparent	1	2.4
uncle/aunt	0	0.0
friend	2	4.8
other	2	4.8
no one	13	31.7
18. Does someone help you with your homework?		
brother/sister	7	17.0
father/mother	17	41.4
grandparent	0	0.0
uncle/aunt	0	0.0
friend	2	4.8
other	2	4.8
no one	13	31.7
19. Do you have one or two people with whom you enjoy spending time?		
yes	35	97.2
no	1	2.7

Table 4-14--continued

	Frequency	Percent
20. Who is the person you most enjoy spending time?		
brother/sister	6	14.6
father/mother	9	21.9
grandparent	1	2.4
uncle/aunt	0	0.0
cousin	5	12.1
other	20	48.7
no one	0	0.0
21. Do you want to learn English?		
yes	41	100.0
no	0	0.0
22. What is the most important reason for learning English?		
get a better job	1	2.4
have more friends	2	4.8
help my family	13	31.7
get better grades in school	13	31.7
be able to go to college	11	26.8
other	1	2.4
What languages do you use in the following situations?		
23. At home speaking to your parents		
only Spanish	13	31.7
generally Spanish	18	43.9
half Spanish, half English	10	24.3
generally English	0	0.0
only English	0	0.0
not applicable	0	0.0
24. At home speaking to adults		
only Spanish	16	39.0
generally Spanish	17	41.4
half Spanish, half English	7	17.0
generally English	1	2.4
only English	0	0.0
not applicable	0	0.0

Table 4-14--continued

	Frequency	Percent
25. At home speaking to younger people		
only Spanish	8	19.5
generally Spanish	5	12.1
half Spanish, half English	21	51.2
generally English	6	14.6
only English	0	0.0
not applicable	1	2.4
26. At home parents and relatives speaking to you		
only Spanish	14	34.1
generally Spanish	14	34.1
half Spanish, half English	9	21.9
generally English	2	4.8
only English	2	4.8
not applicable	0	0.0
27. In your neighborhood speaking to neighbors		
only Spanish	5	12.5
generally Spanish	7	17.5
half Spanish, half English	11	27.5
generally English	9	22.5
only English	8	22.5
not applicable	0	0.0
28. When you shop in your neighborhood		
only Spanish	0	0.0
generally Spanish	3	7.5
half Spanish, half English	8	20.0
generally English	9	22.5
only English	20	50.0
not applicable	0	0.0
29. Speaking to your friends at school		
only Spanish	4	9.7
generally Spanish	10	24.3
half Spanish, half English	24	58.5
generally English	3	7.3
only English	0	0.0
not applicable	0	0.0

Table 4-14--continued

	Frequency	Percent
30. After school speaking to friends		
only Spanish	9	21.9
generally Spanish	8	19.5
half Spanish, half English	15	36.5
generally English	4	9.7
only English	4	9.7
not applicable	1	2.4
31. At church		
only Spanish	20	48.7
generally Spanish	8	19.5
half Spanish, half English	2	4.8
generally English	1	2.4
only English	2	4.8
not applicable	8	19.5
32. When you listen to the radio		
only Spanish	0	0.0
generally Spanish	1	2.5
half Spanish, half English	4	10.0
generally English	5	12.5
only English	29	72.5
not applicable	1	2.5
33. When you watch TV		
only Spanish	0	0.0
generally Spanish	1	2.5
half Spanish, half English	4	10.0
generally English	5	12.5
only English	29	72.5
not applicable	1	2.5
34. When you read a newspaper		
only Spanish	3	7.6
generally Spanish	5	12.8
half Spanish, half English	1	2.5
generally English	2	5.1
only English	12	30.7
not applicable	16	41.0

Table 4-14--continued

	Frequency	Percent
35. When you go to the movies (do you watch movies in)		
only Spanish	1	2.5
generally Spanish	2	5.0
half Spanish, half English	7	17.5
generally English	9	22.5
only English	19	47.5
not applicable	2	5.0
36. When you read books are they		
only Spanish	8	20.0
generally Spanish	7	17.0
half Spanish, half English	10	25.0
generally English	4	10.0
only English	11	27.5
not applicable	0	0.0
How well do you _____?		
37. Speak English		
not at all	0	0.0
a little	12	29.2
O.K.	33	51.2
well	8	19.5
very well	0	0.0
38. Understand English		
not at all	0	0.0
a little	6	14.6
O.K.	12	29.2
well	18	43.9
very well	5	12.1
39. Read English		
not at all	1	2.4
a little	13	31.7
O.K.	21	51.2
well	4	9.7
very well	2	4.8

Table 4-14--continued

	Frequency	Percent
40. Write English		
not at all	1	2.4
a little	10	24.3
O.K.	11	26.8
well	12	29.2
very well	7	17.0
41. Speak Spanish		
not at all	0	0.0
a little	1	2.4
O.K.	0	0.0
well	5	12.1
very well	35	85.3
42. Understand Spanish		
not at all	0	0.0
a little	0	0.0
O.K.	0	0.0
well	1	2.4
very well	40	97.5
43. Read Spanish		
not at all	0	0.0
a little	0	0.0
O.K.	1	2.4
well	2	4.8
very well	38	92.6
44. Write Spanish		
not at all	0	0.0
a little	0	0.0
O.K.	1	2.4
well	5	12.1
very well	35	85.3
45. Should Spanish be used at school?		
yes	14	34.1
no	25	60.9
I don't know	2	4.8

Table 4-14--continued

	Frequency	Percent
46. Should Spanish be taught at school as a subject?		
yes	20	48.7
no	16	39.0
I don't know	5	12.1
47. Some people believe that if Spanish is taught, the students will not learn English as quickly as they should. What is your opinion?		
Yes, they will fall behind in English.	14	34.1
They will not learn either language well.	2	4.8
They can learn both at the same time.	18	43.9
They can learn both at the same time, but not well.	7	17.0
Other	0	0.0

the exception of two grandparents. A discrepancy appears between the relationship of the person filling out the survey and the number of males and females. This occurred because both the grandparents wrote on one student's survey. To indicate who was answering, they used different colors of ink. Grandmother answered the first question, grandfather the second. Not everyone, of course, answered all the questions. In terms of the length of time the families who responded had lived in the school district, almost 80% had been there more than a year. Another 11% had been there between 6 months and 1 year. Two families had been there less than 6 months. According to the survey, everyone had some schooling. The majority (62%) attended high school; 10% attended college. More than 70% were currently employed in either cleaning and maintenance, factory, or work in the countryside. Factory work was mainly at an electronics plant or a sugar cane refinery. Work in the countryside is in sugar cane. Housewife was the major occupation of those responding to the question of employment in Cuba. While 36% of the respondents were housewives in Cuba, only 13% indicated that occupation as their current employment status. The second largest type of employment was found at an office or store (28%). Questions on employment and education reveal some measure of economic and educational attainment; a more complete picture could have been obtained had both parents or grandparents responded.

The majority (62%) of the families had one or two children; none had more than six. The majority (66%) had one or two children living with them now. Another discrepancy surfaces in questions 7 and 9. No one indicated having seven or more children, but one said seven or more

were living at home now. These seven or more children may also be members of the extended family. The responses to the question of how many people left Cuba together were fairly evenly distributed across all alternatives. Seven or more and five to six received more than one-quarter of the responses each and three to four received 44%. Seventy percent of the families had family members already in the U.S.; 30% did not. Although 50% lived near seven or more close relatives and friends, 26% lived near no close friends or relatives. Answers were almost evenly distributed in terms of how many relatives or close friends are spoken to daily. On a weekly basis, seven or more was the response of 57%. Three people spoke to no relative or close friend during the week. The responses were almost the same for the question of close friends and relatives in Florida. Two people indicated they had no friends or relatives. This series of questions was included to determine kinship networks. It was anticipated that these networks would be discussed more in depth during the interviews. One proposition under consideration was that kinship/friendship networks may have an influence on the acquisition of English.

None of the parents spoke or read any language other than English or Spanish. More than 80% of the respondents indicated that they had either studied English, were currently studying it, or planned to study it in the future. The most prevalent time for studying English was at night school, a choice of 39% of the respondents. Everyone indicated an interest in learning English. Eighteen percent said they had no time to study.

In terms of language use, more than 90% indicated they generally or only used Spanish; 60% indicated that their children spoke to them

only or generally in Spanish. These responses were in accord with the childrens' responses. When speaking to relatives, 64% indicated they used only Spanish. When relatives spoke to them, 72% indicated they used only Spanish. Eighty-one percent selected generally or only Spanish for speaking to relatives; 83% selected generally or only Spanish for relatives speaking to them. The percentage drops to 72 for Spanish use when speaking to neighbors. Three people responded that the answer was not applicable, perhaps indicating that they did not speak to neighbors. Answers were widely and evenly distributed for language use while shopping in the neighborhood.

Talking to a supervisor showed a language shift to English, with 55% using generally or only English. Twenty-eight percent said English was the only or generally used language with co-workers. Housewives indicated these questions were not applicable for them. Interestingly, 26% stated the question of language at church was not applicable. The language preference for watching TV was widely distributed, with the median selection being half English and half Spanish. Newspaper reading also received a wide distribution with only Spanish receiving 33% and not applicable receiving 26%; English only and half English/half Spanish were chosen by 33% each. Five people indicated this question was not applicable. Spanish only was the language preference for reading books for 56% of the respondents; 15% chose not applicable.

In responding to the question of whether Spanish should be taught at school, 68% indicated in the affirmative. Ninety-three percent of those who answered said it should be part of the curriculum. However, only 15 people responded to this question. The majority, 61% of 39

responses, believe that students can learn two languages at the same time without ill effect.

Almost all parents (79%) had visited the school once or twice; five respondents visited weekly or monthly. Eighty-six percent spoke most frequently with the teacher.

In terms of friendships, the majority of parents (82%) see their children as having friends with whom they speak more than once a week. However, few (22%) had school friends who visited the children at home more than once a week. More than half (53%) used the telephone more than twice a day. However, 16% used the telephone no more than once or twice a week, and 27% did not have visits from school friends. Two students did not talk to school friends at home frequently, less than once a month, according to parents. The purpose of this group of questions was to determine if there was a group of students who were isolated from their peers and did not use either Spanish or English to communicate. A small group did appear to be somewhat isolated, and were not achieving well in English or Spanish. There was not significant statistical correlation between language and behavior patterns for the group, because these more isolated children were not the only students who were not achieving in English.

The majority of the females engaged in cleaning chores, the majority of the males in yard work. Brothers, sisters, and parents helped with homework. Twenty-six percent stated that no one helped with the homework.

Television was the source of entertainment of 66% of the students according to parents. It was selected as such by 43% of the students

as that source. Sports was the second highest choice for parents and students.

With 35 students responding in the affirmative, 97% indicated they had one or two people with whom they enjoyed spending time. Thirty-seven parents responded affirmatively, with 73% indicating the same information. Thirty-eight percent of the parents and 49% of the students chose a friend or "other" as the person with whom students prefer to spend time. Twenty-eight percent of the parents selected themselves as their children's choice for the person with whom to spend time. Twenty-two percent of the students made this selection, which was the highest choice for parents and the second highest for students. Almost 50% of the students selected "other"; 21% of the parents made that selection.

One parent indicated uncertainty about offspring learning English. Considering that 100% of students answered in the affirmative to this question and 100% of parents stated they wanted to learn, it is likely that this "do not know" response could have been marked in error. Inadvertently, the response "be able to go to college" was omitted from the alternatives for learning English on the Parent Survey. Ten of the 12 respondents (31%) who chose "other" wrote that college was the most important reason for their children to learn English. Helping the family was the most important reason 32% of the students and 26% of the parents gave for their children. Of this group of responses, the greatest difference between parents and children was in the selection of the response "obtain a better job" which was chosen by 38% of the parents for their children and 2% of the students.

Table 4-15
Results of Parent Survey

	Frequency	Percent
1. Relationship of person answering		
father	5	13.1
mother	32	84.2
grandparent	1	2.6
2. Sex of respondent		
female	31	79.4
male	8	20.5
3. Length of time in school district		
less than 6 months	2	5.1
6 months to a year	6	15.3
13 months to 18 months	14	35.8
more than 18 months	17	43.6
4. Length of schooling in Cuba		
0	0	0.0
elementary school	7	17.9
middle school	4	10.2
high school	24	61.5
college	4	10.2
5. Current employment		
unemployed	2	5.1
housewife	5	12.8
factory or countryside	20	51.2
maintenance cleaning	8	20.5
selling	0	0.0
office or store	3	7.6
nurse	0	0.0
teacher's aide	0	0.0
professional	1	2.5
other	0	0.0

Table 4-15--continued

	Frequency	Percent
6. Employment in Cuba		
unemployed	1	2.5
housewife	14	35.8
factory or countryside	5	12.8
maintenance cleaning	4	10.2
selling	0	0.0
office or store	11	28.2
nurse	0	0.0
teacher's aide	0	0.0
teacher	3	7.6
professional	0	0.0
other	0	0.0
7. How many children do you have?		
1-2	24	61.5
3-4	10	25.6
5-6	5	12.8
7 or more	0	0.0
8. How many children living in U.S.?		
1-2	25	64.0
3-4	10	25.6
5-6	4	10.2
7 or more	0	0.0
9. How many children living with you now?		
1-2	26	66.6
3-4	9	23.0
5-6	3	7.6
7 or more	1	2.5
10. How many people left Cuba with you?		
1-2	2	5.1
3-4	17	43.5
5-6	10	25.6
7 or more	10	25.6
11. How many in your family had already left Cuba when you left?		
0	11	29.7
1-2	4	10.8
3-4	7	18.9
5-6	3	8.1
7 or more	12	32.4

Table 4-15--continued

	Frequency	Percent
12. How many relatives or close friends live near you now?		
0	10	26.3
1-2	4	10.5
3-4	1	2.6
5-6	4	10.5
7 or more	19	50.0
13. With how many relatives or close friends do you speak daily?		
0	8	21.6
1-2	3	8.1
3-4	8	21.6
5-6	7	18.9
7 or more	11	29.7
14. How many relatives or close friends do you speak weekly?		
0	3	8.1
1-2	2	5.4
3-4	4	10.8
5-6	7	18.9
7 or more	21	56.7
15. How many relatives and close friends do you have in Florida?		
0	4	11.1
1-2	3	8.3
3-4	7	19.4
5-6	1	2.7
7 or more	24	58.3
16. How many relatives and close friends do you have in the U.S.?		
0	2	5.7
1-2	2	5.7
3-4	6	17.1
5-6	4	11.4
7 or more	21	60.0

Table 4-15--continued

	Frequency	Percent
17. Do you speak any languages other than English or Spanish?		
French	0	0.0
Italian	0	0.0
Arabic	0	0.0
Russian	0	0.0
Hebrew	0	0.0
Other	0	0.0
None	36	100.0
18. Do you read any other languages other than English or Spanish?		
French	0	0.0
Italian	0	0.0
Arabic	0	0.0
Russian	0	0.0
Hebrew	0	0.0
Other	0	0.0
None	36	100.0
19. Are you studying English now?		
no	8	21.6
yes	14	37.8
not now, but I was studying it	15	43.5
not now, but I plan to in the future	10	27.0
20. If you are studying now, how are you doing it?		
classes during the day	5	13.1
night classes	15	39.4
private lessons	2	5.2
books at home	9	23.6
other	0	0.0
not motivated to study	0	0.0
motivated but have no time	7	18.4
Indicate the percent of time you use English or Spanish in the following situations.		
21. When you speak to your children at home		
only Spanish	27	71.0
generally Spanish	8	21.0
half Spanish, half English	2	5.2

Table 4-15--continued

	Frequency	Percent
generally English	1	2.6
only English	0	0.0
not applicable	0	0.0
22. When your children speak to you at home		
only Spanish	14	36.8
generally Spanish	13	34.2
half Spanish, half English	9	23.6
generally English	1	2.6
only English	0	0.0
not applicable	1	2.6
23. When you speak to your relatives at home		
only Spanish	23	63.8
generally Spanish	6	16.6
half Spanish, half English	4	11.1
generally English	1	2.7
only English	0	0.0
not applicable	2	5.5
24. When your relatives speak to you at home		
only Spanish	26	72.2
generally Spanish	4	11.1
half Spanish, half English	3	8.3
generally English	1	2.7
only English	0	0.0
not applicable	2	5.5
25. With your neighbors		
only Spanish	21	53.8
generally Spanish	7	17.9
half Spanish, half English	6	15.3
generally English	1	2.5
only English	1	2.5
not applicable	3	7.6
26. When you go shopping in your neighborhood		
only Spanish	8	22.2
generally Spanish	4	11.1
half Spanish, half English	9	25.0
generally English	4	11.1
only English	9	25.0
not applicable	2	5.5

Table 4-15--continued

	Frequency	Percent
27. With your supervisor at work		
only Spanish	6	17.6
generally Spanish	1	2.9
half Spanish, half English	4	11.7
generally English	10	29.4
only English	9	26.4
not applicable	4	11.7
28. With your co-workers at work		
only Spanish	11	30.5
generally Spanish	2	5.5
half Spanish, half English	10	27.7
generally English	4	11.1
only English	6	16.6
not applicable	3	8.3
29. When you go to church		
only Spanish	20	52.6
generally Spanish	6	15.7
half Spanish, half English	0	0.0
generally English	1	2.6
only English	1	2.6
not applicable	10	26.3
30. When you watch TV		
only Spanish	4	10.2
generally Spanish	6	15.3
half Spanish, half English	17	43.5
generally English	5	12.8
only English	7	17.9
not applicable	0	0.0
31. When you read the newspapers		
only Spanish	13	33.3
generally Spanish	4	10.2
half Spanish, half English	5	12.8
generally English	2	5.1
only English	5	12.8
not applicable	10	25.6

Table 4-15--continued

	Frequency	Percent
32. When you go to the movies		
only Spanish	3	8.3
generally Spanish	3	8.3
half Spanish, half English	12	33.3
generally English	1	2.7
only English	12	33.3
not applicable	5	13.8
33. When you read books		
only Spanish	22	56.4
generally Spanish	3	7.6
half Spanish, half English	4	10.2
generally English	2	5.1
only English	2	5.1
not applicable	6	15.3
Indicate your knowledge of the two languages using a scale of 1 to 5.		
34. Speak English		
not at all	14	37.8
a little	14	37.8
O.K.	6	16.2
well	2	5.4
very well	1	2.7
35. Understand English		
not at all	4	10.8
a little	21	56.7
O.K.	10	27.0
well	1	2.7
very well	1	2.7
36. Read English		
not at all	14	37.8
a little	14	37.8
O.K.	6	16.2
well	2	5.4
very well	1	2.7

Table 4-15--continued

	Frequency	Percent
37. Write English		
not at all	15	40.5
a little	14	37.8
O.K.	3	8.1
well	5	13.5
very well	0	0.0
38. Speak Spanish		
not at all	0	0.0
a little	0	0.0
O.K.	0	0.0
well	7	17.9
very well	32	82.0
39. Understand Spanish		
not at all	0	0.0
a little	0	0.0
O.K.	0	0.0
well	3	7.6
very well	36	92.3
40. Read Spanish		
not at all	0	0.0
a little	0	0.0
O.K.	0	0.0
well	5	12.8
very well	34	87.1
41. Write Spanish		
not at all	0	0.0
a little	0	0.0
O.K.	0	0.0
well	6	15.3
very well	33	84.6
42. Should Spanish be taught at school?		
yes	26	68.4
no	8	21.0
I don't know	4	10.5

Table 4-15--continued

	Frequency	Percent
43. Should Spanish be used as a part of the curriculum?		
yes	14	93.3
no	1	6.6
I don't know	0	0.0
44. Some people believe that if Spanish is taught as part of the school curriculum the students will not learn English as quickly as they should. What is your opinion?		
Yes, they will fall behind in English.	7	18.4
They won't learn either language well.	0	0.0
They can learn both languages at the same time.	23	60.5
They can learn both, but not very well.	4	10.5
Other	4	10.5
45. Have you visited your child's school?		
once or twice	30	78.9
weekly	1	2.6
monthly	4	10.5
never	3	7.8
46. Who is the person you most frequently speak with at school?		
principal	2	5.7
teacher	30	85.7
aide	0	0.0
secretary	1	2.8
other	2	5.7
47. Does your child have school friends with whom he/she talks with at home?		
no	0	0.0
yes, but not frequently; less than once a month	2	5.2
yes, from time to time; more than once a month but less than once a week	5	13.1
yes, frequently; more than once a week	31	81.5

Table 4-15--continued

	Frequency	Percent
48. Does your child have school friends who visit him/her at home?		
no	10	27.0
yes, but not frequently; once a month or less	11	29.7
yes, more than once a month but less than once a week	8	21.6
yes, more than once a week but not daily	6	16.2
yes, daily or almost daily	2	5.4
49. Does your child use the telephone frequently?		
no, only once or twice a week	6	15.7
more or less, between two and four times a week	2	5.2
yes, more or less; once a day	10	26.3
yes, more than twice a day	20	52.6
50. Does your child have chores to do?		
yes	28	82.3
no	6	17.6
51. If your child has chores to do, which is the one he/she does most frequently?		
child care	1	2.6
clean	14	36.8
cook	1	2.6
work in garden	12	31.5
other	9	23.6
nothing	1	2.6
52. Who helps your child with homework?		
brother/sister	10	25.6
parent	14	35.8
grandparent	0	0.0
uncle/aunt	3	7.6
friend	1	2.5
other	1	2.5
no one	10	25.6

Table 4-15--continued

	Frequency	Percent
53. What does your child do most frequently for recreation?		
sports	7	18.4
TV	25	65.7
dance	2	5.2
visit friends	2	5.2
other	2	5.2
54. Does your child have one or two special friends with whom he/she likes to spend time?		
yes	27	72.9
no	10	27.0
55. With whom does your child like to spend time the most?		
brother/sister	7	17.9
parent	11	28.2
grandparent	4	10.2
uncle/aunt	0	0.0
cousin	1	2.5
friend	7	17.9
other	8	20.5
no one	1	2.5
56. Do you want your child to learn English?		
yes	37	97.3
no	0	0.0
I don't know	1	2.6
57. The most important reason for learning English is		
obtain a better job	15	38.4
have more friends	2	5.1
help the family	10	25.6
other	12	30.7
not important	0	0.0

Students' and parents' self-rating of language

Analyses of students' and parents' self-ratings of language proficiency provided some interesting data. Almost all students (97%) rated themselves as understanding Spanish; 12% rated themselves as understanding very well in English. Forty-three percent rated themselves as understanding English well. Eighty-five percent said they speak Spanish well. No one made that choice in English. Fifty-one percent said they spoke English O.K. Ninety-two percent rated themselves as reading very well in Spanish compared with 5% in English. Eighty-five percent claimed they wrote Spanish very well; 17% made this claim in English. The rating for writing ability had the widest distribution of responses in both English and Spanish.

Parents' self-ratings indicated less ability in English than did students' self-ratings. Parents' ratings of their ability in Spanish was much higher than in English. Parents' self-ratings in both languages were more conservative than the students' self-ratings.

Parents' self-ratings had no correlations with students' rank on English. However, parents' rating of Spanish did have a high correlation with students' rating on oral Spanish scores. All parents' self-ratings, except understanding, were statistically significantly correlated with students' oral ratings.

Correlations of students' and parents' self-ratings

Table 4-16 shows the correlations of the students' self-ratings of their language ability in English and Spanish with rank on oral language proficiency and rank on total English and Spanish scores.

With the exception of reading, all the correlations of students' ratings in English are statistically significant with the oral language sample ratings. In total English, both speaking and understanding correlations are statistically significant with total English. None of the students' ratings in Spanish are statistically correlated with oral evaluations or total rank scores.

Table 4-17 displays correlations of parents' self-ratings of language proficiency with rank on oral language proficiency and rank on total Spanish and English scores. No significant correlations in English are found between parents' ratings and students' scores. Statistically significant correlations exist between parents' ratings and students' rank on oral Spanish with speaking and writing. There is a strong trend toward statistical significance at the .05 level of confidence for reading. Two of the parents' self-ratings are significantly correlated with students' rank on oral Spanish scores but no significant correlations are found for rank on total scores.

Discussion of results of students' and parents' surveys

The importance of these surveys derives not only from the answers which the students and their parents supplied, but also the behavior which was displayed in completing the surveys. The surveys were given after students had completed the individual oral language tests. I had, by that time, talked informally with all the participating students and observed them in class. The day I administered the survey I became the teacher for a short period of time. Working as a teacher, I realized these students were different from any other students with whom I had ever worked. The students appeared enthusiastic about

completing the survey; all talked loudly at once. They got out of their seats to personally ask me questions and show me their answers. At no time were they disrespectful, but they were difficult to keep organized and on task as we filled out the surveys together. Some of the questions they asked were discussed in Chapter Three. Suffice it to say that many gave the impression their reading comprehension was not well developed and they had never before completed a survey. Students' and parents' responses in completing the letters of permission gave a similar impression. Many students asked where they should sign their names, even though there is a specifically labeled and designated line.

The results of the survey may be questioned because of the students' observed reading comprehension difficulties and because of the discrepancies in the answers that were discussed in the previous section under Results. However, the responses of the students' surveys are fairly consistent with the responses on the parents' survey. This consistency is at least an indication of reliability.

The data on the self-report of language fluency in English and Spanish provides the most interesting analysis. Students appear to have an accurate perception of their ability in English as evidenced by the correlations between English self-ratings, rank on oral score, and rank on total score.

There were no similar correlations in Spanish. The teachers stated that the students gave them the impression that the students believed they had been well educated in Cuba, when in reality they were not. According to the Cuban-American teachers, in Cuba, children are

continually told how well they are doing. A form of positive reinforcement is used consistently unless the student is doing very poorly.

The Cuban-American teachers' statements are corroborated by an interview with a Cuban teacher who began her teaching career a year before the Cuban Revolution. Before coming to the U.S. in 1980, she had completed 15 years of teaching in the revolutionary system.

We [teachers in Cuba] never punish or shame the students when they don't know something. Instead we encourage them to do more. We are aware of what the students know and don't know so we can ask the slower students questions we know they can answer. We try never to let them know if they aren't doing well, unless they do so poorly they have to repeat the grade. We do keep them after school for extra help but never in a way that will make them feel bad.

The Cubans were confident of their ability in Spanish. They did not appear to have questioned their fluency in Spanish or to have compared it to that of their peers. Students' ability to express themselves in oral and written Spanish is correlated to parents' ratings of their own ability. While it cannot be concluded that parents' ability has influenced or reinforced students' learning, a relationship does appear to exist.

Student interviews

Additional data were collected from the student and parent interviews. Some students talked a great deal, some spoke very little. Again behavior was insightful. Responses may total more than 41 because some students gave more than one answer (see Appendices H and I for Student and Parent Interview Schedules in Spanish).

Table 4-16

Students' Self-rating of Language Proficiency

Correlations of Students' Self-rating in English
and Rank on English Scores

	<u>Oral English</u>		<u>Total English</u>		n
	r	α	r	α	
Speaking	.51	.0008	.343	.029	40
Understanding	.318	.04	.326	.04	40
Reading	.184	.254	.282	.077	40
Writing	.329	.038	.121	.456	40

Correlations of Students' Self-rating in Spanish
and Rank on Spanish Scores

	<u>Oral Spanish</u>		<u>Total Spanish</u>		n
	r	α	r	α	
Speaking	.091	.574	-.143	.377	40
Understanding	.114	.481	.028	.862	40
Reading	.092	.568	.004	.979	40
Writing	.198	.219	-.025	.874	40

Table 4-17

Parents' Self-rating of Language Proficiency

Correlations of Parents' Self-ratings in English and
Students' Rank on English Scores

	<u>Oral English</u>		<u>Total English</u>		n
	r	α	r	α	
Speaking	.259	.121	.188	.263	37
Understanding	.178	.291	.19	.259	37
Reading	.164	.329	.126	.456	37
Writing	.152	.368	.127	.452	37

Correlations of Parents' Self-ratings in Spanish and
Students' Rank on Spanish Scores

	<u>Oral Spanish</u>		<u>Total Spanish</u>		n
	r	α	r	α	
Speaking	.369	.02	.014	.931	39
Understanding	.169	.302	.041	.802	39
Reading	.312	.052	.036	.827	39
Writing	.341	.033	-.004	.976	39

1. Tell me about your school in Cuba. Seventeen students described the school day, giving a variety of information such as being 4 hours long with two 10-minute breaks. Others provided a list of subjects studied. According to most, school was much harder in Cuba than in the U.S. Almost everyone believed he or she learned more in Cuba. Three students spoke of the opening exercises where everyone lined up to salute the flag and sing a patriotic song. Three students described the size and shape of the school. Five students described their teachers as being good, kind, willing to teach. Six students asked what they should talk about. Four of these six said they did not remember very much. Four said they liked Saturday and Sunday the best because they did not go to school. One student said school was good and he liked it but preferred not to talk about it. One student described the location of the school in relationship to his home. Only one student said school was very bad and he hated to go. The overall impression the students gave was that they liked their schools in Cuba. When they spoke of their schools and of other places in Cuba, their eyes sparkled and their faces became animated.

2. Did you have chores to do? Forty students spoke of having positions of responsibility within the school system. Five spoke of cultivating the gardens. Two picked up fruit from under the fruit trees. Three weeded the gardens. Four spoke of riding in a truck to another area to work. Three helped paint the buildings. Two cleaned the rooms and two cleaned the walls. One boy spoke of overseeing the others working in the garden. When he did, he laughed as though recalling a private joke. Some students spoke of having several responsibilities

such as caring for the physical school plant and/or teaching other children. Sixteen spoke of having responsibilities for monitoring the students or preparing materials, lessons, or checking other students' work. Two said they were in charge of science and had to make collections of leaves and rocks available around the school. Two mentioned being in charge when the teacher was out of the room. Four spoke of being student leaders in the school. They talked of collaborating with the teachers to assist the slower students. Two of this group spoke of visiting other classes to check on the students' behavior and dress. Students were required to wear a uniform and scarf. The uniform indicated school level or student organization membership. One student told of always hiding his scarf and purposely wearing it dirty. He was one of the few unkempt students in the group. Three students talked about taking care of smaller children in the afternoon. One student spoke of helping to organize a circle after school to help students who were having problems with math. This student explained that the teacher would assign teams to work together after school. Parents were responsible for having the team meeting and were required to send a signed attendance list to school each time the group met. Eight spoke of being line or team monitors and helping students keep lines straight, clean rows, and put materials away. While 22 mentioned physical labor such as gardening and cleaning, 18 stressed intellectual activities. One student said he had never helped in any way.

3. What subject did you like most? Why? Twenty-three liked math the most, seven liked history or geography, six liked science, and two liked physical education. One said all subjects were the same and one

said no subjects were good or bad. One said he did not remember school in Cuba. Some had two preferences. Reading, Cuban history, or geography were popular second choices for ten. Twenty students said they liked math because it was good, fun, or easy. Three said they did not know why, but they just liked it. In all, seven students said they liked to learn about Cuba. They found it interesting to learn about the people who lived there long ago. They mentioned studying about the Indians who were exterminated or about the slaves who worked the sugar plantations. Three believed it was important to know about one's native land. Four said they enjoyed being able to identify the plants and animals of Cuba. Two could not give a reason but just liked science. The two who had chosen physical education said they liked to play sports. Physical education was an afternoon activity for them. One of the two said that he had been chosen to go to a special athletic school because he played basketball so well. According to his explanation, he would be playing there now if he had not come north. Six other students spoke of going to the library to learn to read. At the library they explained, students used special machines and books for learning to read. Students who did not learn to read in class were taught to read in the library. Eight students spoke of afternoon classes where they learned manual arts and vocational skills, Spanish literature, guitar, handicrafts, and art. They stated that these were a part of the school program, but attendance was not required. These additional classes usually met only twice a week, according to the students.

4. Tell me about life in Cuba. Twenty-five students said life was all right. Ten spoke of taking trips to the beach with their

families. Four spoke of having ice cream which was better in Cuba than in the U.S. Seven said they did not remember much about Cuba, but if I had a specific question they would try to answer. Four talked about the Comité de Defensa (CDR) and how people worked to help monitor the area where they lived. Three told of reminding people not to use so much electricity. Their job was to go out at night and check which homes had on the lights. One spoke of not being able to go anywhere without having to report to someone in the CDR. Ten mentioned the Pioneer activities and trips to the countryside in summer. The Pioneers is the government sponsored mass organization for young students. From students' descriptions, the Cuban Pioneer organization is similar to the Russian Pioneer organization (see Bronfenbrenner, 1968, 1970, for description). Homes of the formerly rich have been converted into Pioneer palaces where children go on special occasions. Eighteen spoke about having many friends in Cuba. They said they always had fun with friends and relatives because everyone lived close together. Two spoke about the pretty color of the water.

5. What did you do on Saturdays and Sundays? Some students answered this in number 4. Twenty-six spoke about going on picnics to the beach or to the countryside or getting together with relatives and friends. When asked how often they went to the beach or countryside, 22 said about once a year and four did not remember. Twelve spoke of going to or participating in rallies, parades, or special workers' days. Some worked with parents at school or in some community project. Ten spoke of going to movies with family or friends. One student said he tried to get his mother to help at school or attend a

Party meeting, but she always had a headache and wanted to stay home. Fifteen said they stayed at home and played or went to a neighbor's house and played. Eight mentioned watching TV.

6. When did you find out you were coming to the U.S.? One student described in detail how he found out. He said it was a complete surprise to him; he had always thought his parents were very happy in Cuba. One night he knew something strange was happening, because he heard whispers. The next day his father explained to him that every Saturday when the father was supposed to be working, he was actually at a special prison. The father had served 9 years in prison and was completing the rest of the 30-year sentence on Saturdays. This man had been a part of the Revolution but when he had a change of heart was labeled a "counterrevolutionary" and sentenced to jail. Thirty-two students said they had always known they were coming to the U.S. because their parents talked about it. Five said that their families had unsuccessfully tried to leave during the Camarioca exodus in 1965. Another five stated that they learned in 1979 they were leaving. Three knew early in 1980, well before the incident in the Peruvian embassy.

7. Why did your family come to _____ to live? Twenty-seven said they had friends or relatives who had told them about the city. Seven said their parents moved there because it was more peaceful and they did not like the confusion in Miami. Five said their church had brought them. Two said they did not know why they had come.

Although the question of religion was not in the interview schedule, it came up frequently in the interviews. No specific count was made of the different religious groups represented in the research population.

Jehovah's Witnesses was the most frequently mentioned denomination. Baptist, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Catholic membership was also named.

8. What are the differences between school here and school in Cuba? Although this was somewhat discussed in question 1, it was elaborated upon here. Five said the teachers were nicer in Cuba. Seven said the schools in Cuba were harder, but the students learned more. One said, "In the U.S., the lessons are half chewed. All you have to do is swallow. In Cuba, you have to really bite and chew to get everything out." When asked to explain what he meant, this student said that here everything was too easy. There were dittos and workbooks. Students had to copy almost nothing from the board or work for themselves. In Cuba, everything had to be copied from the board and learned. Ten said that in Cuba everyone knew each other. Life was more fun because he had more friends in Cuba, one said. "You can't get to know people if they don't come outside." North Americans all stay inside their houses after school. Three said the food in the cafeteria was better here. "Your mother does not have to work for you to get lunch at school here," observed one student. "In Cuba, if your mother doesn't work, you have to walk home for lunch." This statement was very revealing about a country where food is in short supply. Six said teachers were better in the U.S. One observed, "Even if they scold you, it's for your own good. They really care about us here, especially the bilingual teachers." Ten said school was better here because students could make choices about what they wanted to study. One student observed that schools here were much prettier. She found

the school she attended to be beautiful. One student did not know of any differences.

9. What subject do you like best here? Twenty students said social studies, 14 said science, three said art, and one said physical education. Two said they did not know and one said none. No one chose math. Twenty-four students stated they liked the bilingual and ESL programs because they felt comfortable there.

10. What does your family do on Saturdays and Sundays? Twenty-four students said their families got together with relatives or friends on the weekends. Four said they belong to social clubs which had parties and dances. Twenty-two mentioned attending church. Other activities mentioned were movies and going out in the car. Eleven said the family did not do much because parents either worked on weekends or slept late because they worked hard all week. Three boys also said they helped their fathers fix the family car or truck. Twelve boys and two girls talked about helping their parents by interpreting for them at the doctor's office and in the stores. Three children talked about walking about the community and looking in the store windows.

11. What do you do after school during the week? Seven boys said they were on baseball or basketball teams. Five boys played outside the house or rode their bikes in the neighborhood. Two others said they lifted weights and ran to build up their strength. Four said they played indoors, watched TV, or listened to music. Four boys and two girls remarked the neighborhoods in the U.S. were very quiet. It was hard, they observed, to get acquainted with other teenagers. Twelve girls said they watched soap operas. Two said they helped their mothers clean but tried to watch the TV as much as possible. Three said they

visited with friends and worked on school studies. Two listened to music and danced but also watched TV.

12. Do you like to read? All but one girl and three boys answered in the affirmative.

13. What kinds of books do you like to read? Ten boys preferred science and history books, four boys liked books about cars, and five liked sports. Twelve girls said they liked novels, four liked science and history, and three said they liked all kinds. Two said they did not know what kind they liked the best.

14. What books have you read lately? Only five boys and ten girls said they had read a book recently. Two of these were science and three were history which they needed to make reports. Twelve students said they had looked for books to read in the library but could not find any. Six more said they had found some good books in the library, but did not know how to check them out. Two students said their parents had bought encyclopedias which they were reading at home. Eight said they did not read many books but they liked to read magazines. One boy said his father had just bought him a book on his favorite topic-- cars.

15. What do you want to do when you graduate from school? Thirteen students did not know what they wanted to do. Seven wanted to be doctors and four pilots. Five wanted to be teachers, five mechanics, and two truck drivers. Three were undecided about being doctors, dentists, or lawyers, and five wanted to dance or sing or do something in the arts.

16. What do your parents want you to do? Thirty-seven said that their parents wanted them to decide for themselves. The reason why the

parents had come to the U.S. was so the children could make their own choices, according to many children. Four others said that it did not matter to their parents. No one indicated that the parents had made any vocational decisions for him or her.

17. Are you learning English? Thirty-four said "yes," four said, "I think so," and two said, "of course."

18. What person helps you learn English the most? Twelve girls said their cousins helped them the most. When asked what language they most often spoke to their cousins, ten said Spanish, two English. When asked to clarify, two said that since their cousins did not speak Spanish, the girls had to speak English. Seven said they learned by listening to their North American cousins speaking together. Three said the cousins taught them words. Five girls and six boys said they learned from watching TV. Four boys said they learned from talking to neighbors. The eight boys who played on the sports teams said they were the only Cubans, so they had to speak English. One said he went to the store where his brother worked and watched the people.

Parent interviews

Four parents participated in the interviews. These parents had a total of five children in the research group. One father and mother were a married couple, the other man and woman were unrelated. All four were employed. Only one of the four, a mother, was studying English.

All parents evidenced a strong concern for their children. All stated it was difficult to come for an interview because of their work schedules. One father left work during lunch, a mother walked five long blocks to

school, another gave up an English class, and the fourth met me on a weekend. It is not known if the work schedules which the other parents have are as demanding as those of these families. If so, then it was with very good reason that they could not take time out for an interview. Following the interview schedule, the information below was collected.

1. What is your opinion of the schools in Cuba? All four parents agreed that the Cuban schools were good. They found the discipline there very strict. While the parents were not pleased with the moral or political influence of the school system, which they all viewed as teaching against the principles of the home, the family, and God, they agreed that the schools had improved a great deal since the Revolution in terms of basic education and technological instruction. All complained that in order to advance within the system, a student had to constantly display favor for the government and attend many meetings. "It was hard," one mother said, when she thought of the work that needed to be done at home, "to pretend to be interested in all the political ideas." Two parents said that as long as they were in the system they urged their children to integrate, to become part of the political group. One mother said she did everything possible to work within the system in order to win favors for her children. "Now that I am here," she said, "I am trying equally hard to help the children do well in this new system."

2. What are the differences and similarities between schools in Cuba and here? All parents spoke of the coordinated effort in Cuba for conformity, for all the schools to be alike. "Here in the U.S. everyone

does what he or she wants. While freedom is good, too much freedom is not good," said one father, who sees the schools here as being too free. In Cuba, the parents were required to work closely with the schools. Parents had to participate. They attended monthly meetings and assisted the school in many ways. This cooperation was considered a civic responsibility they could not avoid. Parents have had less interaction with the school system here and are not as familiar with what is happening. Two parents spoke of the patriotism which children are taught in Cuba, and noted that there seemed to be a lack of patriotism here. All stated that one of the reasons they emigrated was so their children would have the opportunity to make their own career choices instead of being told what to study. Three parents expressed concern because they did not know how to advise their children about which courses to study. They said they would like to know about school programs, what colleges to apply to, what scholarships might be available, or the work for which their children should train. It was difficult for them to make such choices, they said, because in Cuba the government makes the decisions.

3. Is(are) your child(ren) learning English? All answered in the affirmative. Two expressed some reservation about their children's progress. They said they would prefer the children associate more with North American children so they would have more opportunities to speak English.

4. Are you learning English? All believed they were learning English, but not as fast as they would like to learn it. The parents said their children helped them at times with English.

5. What seems to be helping your child learn English? All said the school helped. They were pleased with the bilingual and ESL teachers. Three mentioned interacting with other children and two said the television helped. One father said his children were forbidden to watch television. He believed playing with the North American cousins, his brother's children, helped his children learn English. He expressed concern that his children were learning other things that weren't good to know, and smiled, but did not elaborate.

Discussion of interviews

Informal interviews with the students and general conversation with the parents provided a great deal of information that could not have been obtained any other way. It is unfortunate that only four parents were able to participate. A major conclusion which evolved from the interviews is that life in Cuba had been quite similar for most of the participants. Everyone knew what was expected. Almost everyone participated in some political association organized by the government. Involvement for the students came in the form of school and afterschool activities. The term "linked together" was often used to describe the student groups and the coordinated effort between the school, the home, the local Defense Committee, and the parents' work place. Although the answers which were given during the interviews were expressed in different words, much of the same information was repeated by many students and their parents.

The parents seemed to be still in the process of adjusting to the community in which they resided. They mentioned visiting with relatives in Miami on weekends. Life in the U.S. was difficult, they

observed, most especially for people who do not speak English. One mother said she cried because she wanted to go to her next-door neighbors for a conversation, but she knew she could not. She was also frustrated because she wanted to express gratitude to her employer, but she did not know the words. The mother who was studying English said she was just now beginning to be able to joke with the other employees at her office. Since she had become more fluent in English, she was encouraged to travel about the city more than she had previously. Each of the parents expressed satisfaction or pleasure at being able to talk about his or her experiences. They felt better knowing someone in the U.S. was interested in them.

In the U.S., the Cubans felt isolated. They did not yet know the language and the customs of the people around them. They believe North Americans appear callous and indifferent towards them. Some of the students expressed the opinion that North Americans considered all Latin Americans to be criminals. Many Cubans seemed alarmed at the high crime rate in the U.S., and expressed anxiety about going out onto the streets. One advised me to always check anything I drank because it might contain poison. (This conversation occurred before the Tylenol scare.) The extent to which these feelings of isolation and fear exist was not known.

Based on the available information from the interviews, some conclusions can be made. Life in the U.S. is very different from life in Cuba. Many students and the four parents wanted to make career choices and social associations based on the freedom of choice, but they seemed to be overwhelmed by the options and uninformed about the

alternatives. Most students and the parents believed that Cuban schools were good. They were pleased with the bilingual and ESL programs at the school. They believed the schools in the U.S. were good, but felt isolated and unfamiliar with the total school system.

Differentiation of sexual roles was visible in the responses. Males appeared to interact more frequently with the English-speaking community. Parents depended more on the boys to interpret and act as their agents. Boys participated in team and individual athletic activities outside the home more frequently than did girls. Females tended to stay at home or visit in the homes of friends but not venture into the English-speaking community as much as the males. Girls performed household activities that confined their interaction to the Hispanic community.

The following section looks at the community and the school environment as an influence in English acquisition.

A View of the Community System

This section will review changes which have occurred in the environment around the school which have affected the social structure and culture of the area.

Process through time

In 1970, the population of the county where this study was conducted was 348,993 persons; by 1980, it was 573,125, a change of 64.2% (U.S. Census Bureau 1980, Advanced Count, 1982). The Cubans and Haitians who arrived during 1980 were not reflected in the count. Also under-represented in this census were about 10,000 Mexicans and other Latins

who lived in the county (U.S. Census Bureau 1980, Advanced Count, 1982). Housing units within this county increased during this same period from 141,363 to 294,090--an increase of 108%. It is clear that the decade of the 1970s was a time of rapid growth in this region.

Statistics for the city where the research was conducted indicate that over the decade growth was only 9%. The school was located at the southern edge of the city limits. Growth of the adjoining incorporated area was 593.6% during the period. Eight incorporated areas around the city have increased by more than 100%. The range of increase for this group was from 120% to 620.6%. While the city did not show a great deal of growth, the surrounding area has been growing rapidly, pulling the more vital elements of the economic community away from the previously established business area.

During the decade of the 1970s, the area around the school has been in a state of transition. Within the past 5 years a major shopping center and some of the smaller stores have closed. Many of the remaining businesses appear run down and in need of fresh paint. There were some signs of some revitalization.

View of the ecological change

Names on some of the freshly painted signs reflect the new language which was being heard with more frequency in the area. The revitalization occurred as Cubans and other Latins moved into the region.

"La Barata," a Cuban grocery store, was once known as "U Tote M." "La Bodega," another small grocery store, and "Las Flores Panaderia,"

a bakery, also catered to Spanish-speaking customers. Across a busy intersection the Hispanic Assistance Center provided transportation, child care, legal aid, and English classes for Hispanics and Haitians living in the area.

A perspective of cultural transmission

La Barata contrasts with the Majik Mart, another convenience store located on the adjacent corner of the block. The smells, the sounds, and the sights of the two quick service food stores were distinct. In La Barata, there was a meat case from which fresh Cuban sandwiches were prepared. Behind the case was a display area of fresh vegetables and fruits. Different sizes and types of calabaza (squash), boniato (sweet potatoes), malanga (tubers), and other fresh fruits and vegetables, considered unusual to the region, were for sale. Closer inspection revealed that along with the regular collection of sodas and beer there were maltas, jugo de mango, puré de piña, and Kawi. Near the Cuban crackers was an assortment of candles, incense, and religious objects used in Santeria. Magazines and newspapers in English and Spanish were displayed next to the cash register. The greatest difference between the Majik Mart and La Barata was not items for sale, but the number and variety of people who frequented both stores. Few people lingered to talk to the lone employee in the Majik Mart. In La Barata, there was usually an assortment of people who stopped to make purchases and chat with the owner and other workers.

Junior high school students made purchases in both stores. Cubans and Cuban-Americans usually frequented La Barata; Anglos and blacks patronized the Majik Mart.

La Barata distributed free a local biweekly Spanish language newspaper. Social and civic events' columns provided news about the Hispanic American Cancer Society, the Hispanic Heart Association, the Hispanic Republicans Club, or the Latin Rotarians International. The newspaper served the needs of the Spanish-speaking community by publishing news that did not appear in any English language publication.

View of the social structure of the area

The Camara de Comercio Hispano-Americana, the Hispanic Chamber of Commerce, published articles or information in the Spanish biweekly. The president of the Chamber told me that his organization worked within the economic framework of the local community, yet, met the special needs of the Spanish-speaking population in the district. According to the president, one of the greatest obstacles he faced in working within the community was that English-speaking people were unaware of the economic and social contributions made by the Hispanics in the community. Cuban-Americans consistently invited the press and civic leaders to their social and civic events. Only once did a leader come, when he was running for reelection. The English press seldom covers news of the Hispanic community. Any news that does appear is very brief. The Chamber president sees his efforts to assist Hispanics integrate into the U.S. community as thwarted by the lack of knowledge and interest.

None of the Cuban-American leaders interviewed expressed hostility towards the English-speaking community, nor did they mention an awareness of any hostility toward them. Others echoed the Chamber president in

their desire to be acknowledged for their social and economic contributions. "Even when we raise a great deal of money for the Heart Fund or Cancer Society, the public isn't aware of us," confided one leader.

The Chamber president's statement that the English press seldom covered news of the Hispanic community was confirmed by a review of the articles available in the library of one of the major Florida newspapers. Between January 1980 and December 1981, 45 articles about the local Hispanic community appeared in the three major newspapers serving the local area. These articles were mostly about Hispanics' requests for money for social services or the bilingual program in the public schools. Of the five articles about the Hispanic Chamber of Commerce, four covered the Chambers' protest of Castro's visit to the United Nations. One article related the efforts of Hispanic businessmen to help the 1980 Cubans find jobs. Four editorials published during that time emphasized the importance of teaching English, not Spanish, in the school system. One special 1980 edition carried an historical review of the Cuban and Haitian migrations. This one-time publication was unusual in the depth in which it covered the refugee odyssey of 1980.

Both the Chamber president and the editor of the Spanish language biweekly discussed the assistance which the Hispanic community gave the 1980 Cuban arrivals. The people provided clothing, food, and money to those in need. Some assisted in finding people homes and employment.

Several Cuban-Americans who were interviewed emphasized the need to orient the new Cubans to the U.S. way of life. The expression

most frequently used was "indoctrinate them to our system." Some implied, and some emphatically stated, that the new Cubans had been indoctrinated by a foreign system in Cuba and that now it was up to the Cuban-Americans and the U.S. society-at-large to reindoctrinate the Cubans to the capitalistic system.

Cuban-American reaction to the Cubans living in this community differed from that observed farther south. Many of the Cuban-Americans in the Miami area were openly negative toward the Cubans. One said, "We were very excited about having the new Cubans here. But after they were here a few weeks, we realized that we had more in common with the people from South and Central America than with these Cubans." Another Cuban-American referred to the 1980 Cubans by anglicizing the word "Marielito" (little one from Mariel, Cuba) and pronouncing it "Merilīte." In her opinion, Castro had really tricked the U.S. by sending all those lazy "Merilītes" here to live off U.S. welfare.

For the most part, the Cuban-American community members living in the region of the research with whom I spoke had a more optimistic and positive attitude toward the Cubans. Most expressed a desire to see the Cubans as individuals and to treat them with respect.

A look at language and ideology

I had interviews with two editors of the major local newspaper. Both stated they were very interested in news of the Hispanic community, but believed the Hispanic society was closed to the English-speaking community. They suggested I write a series of articles highlighting the problems and accomplishments of the Cuban-American community. An

outline of articles I planned was well received. One editor informed me a month later that the series was not economically feasible at that time. That same day the media announced a pending reduction of 25% of the newspaper's personnel.

From the reception I received at several Latin American social and civic functions, I concluded that English speakers who were interested in Cuban-Americans were not shut out but welcomed. Many other observations supported this conclusion: the Cuban-American teachers' willingness to provide me space and time for the research, the warmth and enthusiasm with which I was greeted at a dinner commemorating José Martí, the many invitations I received to attend other club and civic meetings, the people who met with me to discuss ideas on the proposed newspaper series.

However, the welcome was not always mutual. An exchange at a bakery near the school illustrates the differences in language ideology. While I was chatting in Spanish with the owner of the bakery, a customer entered scowling, "Do you have any Cuban pastries today?"

"No, we have sold out today. I'm sorry. We'll have some more tomorrow," replied the baker.

"Are you sure you'll have them tomorrow? Do you understand? Are you sure you know what I'm saying?"

"Oh, yes sir. I'm very sure."

Well, I don't know. You bilinguals are all alike. You say yes when you don't know anything that's being said. You people make me very angry. You don't even want to speak English. All the time, you just speak Spanish. Well, you're here now, not in Cuba. It's time you realized that! I wouldn't even come here except my wife wants a loaf of Cuban bread for the party she's having.

The baker got the bread quickly and smiled at the man who was looking down at the bread.

"Well, go ahead and talk about me in Spanish if you want to. I know that's what you're doing when you speak your language. You just use it to talk about people so they won't know what you're saying."

After the man left, I apologized to the baker.

"Don't worry about it," he smiled. "You'd be surprised how many people seem to be angry when they hear Spanish. I don't know why people think other people are talking about them just because they use another language, but many people seem to be very frightened about it. It's not your fault. Now, what can I get for you?"

A View of the School System

The changes observed in the community were reflected in school. This section will highlight some of these influences within the school. It will also describe some of the observations made of these students and some of the behaviors which they displayed. These descriptions provide insight about the influence of the community and the school on the Cuban students.

The ecological change

The school site was located in a residential area bounded on all four sides by major highways or thoroughfares. The southern border of the city was one block away. It was a major east-west street with businesses on both sides. Directly across from the school were the two convenience stores previously described as La Barata and Majik Mart.

Architecturally, the school was constructed in the typical Spanish style of the late 1920s in south Florida. Most buildings are two-story structures with some gardens and courtyards between. The grounds and buildings appear to have been maintained within a limited budget. The office has been renovated; most classrooms look as they probably did 20 years earlier. According to a former teacher of the school, the first buildings for this school plant were opened to children in 1929. With minor exceptions, all additions were completed before World War II.

The airport noise is one of the biggest factors influencing changes in the school and community. People who could afford to move have left the area. As lower-priced housing became available, retired and low-income people moved into it. Many of the teachers and staff employed at the school have continued to live in the general vicinity. Some of these teachers had worked at the school a long time and were reluctant to move. With each passing year, the noise had become more continuous as increasing numbers of planes took off and landed. Although some would like to move, they feel financially trapped. They continued to live nearby and work at the school.

After regular school hours, the school site was funded as a community school. It provided many educational, athletic, and cultural events and classes, including ESL classes in the evenings. Functioning as a junior high school, the school sponsored many afterschool activities such as sports, choral and band groups, and a monthly newspaper. The school in both its roles as a community school and a junior high school was a hub of activity reaching out into the community.

The population change observed in the local community was reflected in the population of the school as seen on Table 4-18. Once an all-white,

Table 4-18

Enrollment

	Grade 7	Percent	Grade 8	Percent	Total	Percent
White, Non-Hispanic	310	64	311	66	621	65
Black	62	13	62	13	124	13
Hispanic	111	23	91	19	202	21
TOTAL	487	51	468	49	955	100

predominantly middle-class school, with a "fine reputation in the community," the school was most recently described as an institution "now struggling to maintain its established reputation, but still a good school." The population in January 1982 was 65% white non-Hispanic, 13% black, and 21% Hispanic. Of this group, 57%, or more than half the school, were transported.

A description of the school teachers and staff

As of January 1982, there were 51 teachers and four administrators. There were two guidance counselors, two office secretaries, and two bilingual clerks. One of the clerks worked in the guidance office and one was with the deans' offices. There were 12 additional aides, including two bilingual and two ESL aides, who worked in various locations in the school. The custodial staff was primarily Cuban and Cuban-American.

One of the administrators had worked at the school since the inception of the bilingual program in 1976. He was new to the administrative position in which he was currently working. He was the only administrator who expressed some ownership for the bilingual program. He stated that there were some changes that still needed to be made to improve the program. He found the teachers and aides both enthusiastic and competent. Two of the administrators were new to the school and had no previous experience with bilingual programs. Both of these administrators viewed the program as an asset in helping the non-English-speaking students adjust to a new educational system and language. According to one administrator, most teachers were glad to have the bilingual program. Many teachers, especially those who have

been at the school a long time, were apprehensive about dealing with students who did not speak English. The fourth administrator had been at the school several years and worked closely with the students. Although he did not work directly with the bilingual program, he was aware of many of the cultural patterns of the children. He was quick to point out some of the behavioral patterns which had changed as a result of the influx of students from Cuba and Haiti.

A view of language and ideology within the school

One administrator's viewpoint reflected the feelings expressed by many of the staff:

The students are here to learn English. While it would be good for those of us who live in south Florida to speak Spanish, that is not the most important skill we need. For the Cubans, English is imperative. I treat Cuban children just like I treat all the other children. They have to learn English so I speak to them directly in English as much as possible instead of using an interpreter. I try to get them not to use an interpreter either unless they really need one. I also try to let the students know that I'm glad they are here. They have to realize that school is a serious business and we are not here to play.

Even though the clerk in the guidance office was bilingual in English and Spanish, English was required. Students and adults were reprimanded for speaking Spanish there. No guidance program existed for those children who had emotional problems or wanted more information on available courses. The bilingual teachers provided many support and counseling services in addition to teaching full-time because of this omission.

Conversely, one teacher was observed speaking Spanish to the students in the cafeteria as they went through the free and reduced lunch line. He said that he had picked up some of the words from the students and tried to use them, because he liked helping the students and wanted them to feel at home.

The February issue of the school newspaper had several articles written by the students on the importance of making new friends and making strangers feel welcome. However, this concept of welcoming new people did not appear to exist across language barriers, for the students.

Observations of Cultural Differences and Cultural Transmission

As the review of the literature in Chapter Two indicated, culture and language are inseparable. The view of the Cuban cultural context serves to make the familiar school setting strange and to emphasize differences. The North American context highlights other differences.

The Cuban context

The bilingual teachers were both Cuban-American. They expressed surprise at the language of the students. According to the teachers, many students had unusual accents and the vocabulary they used was different. Students frequently used vulgarisms but appeared not to realize they had said something offensive. The students and their parents were, at times, difficult to understand and very different from any other group of Cubans the teachers had ever seen.

The teachers' observations were supported by Moreno Fragnals (1982), a Cuban writer and professor who was visiting the U.S. from Cuba. His

remarks were echoed in the observations of the administrators, teachers, and custodian at the school.

Perhaps one of the biggest problems the children face in learning English is their poor knowledge of Spanish. Not only those who left Cuba but those who remained, even those at the university level, have a very poor background in their own language. They do not know the generic names for many items so they refer to many different items as "things." This basic lack of knowledge about their own language makes learning more difficult. After most of the upper and middle class left Cuba, what we had left was the very poor people who were totally lacking in social skills. Not only have we had to instruct these people in reading and math, we have had to give them the most fundamental education. We have had to teach them how to eat with a fork and how to talk to a teacher, for example. Their great lack of social skills has been a problem for us because we have had to start with the most fundamental elements of instruction.

Another serious problem we have had is the shortage of experienced teachers. Because so many teachers have left Cuba, we have had to use anyone who could or would teach, even though these people have had poor results. Many of the teachers are very young and don't know how to discipline the students. My wife and I have spent many hours working with the teachers, preparing them, showing them how to achieve discipline. In Cuba, everyone works cooperatively together to bring about the desired results in the children. We counsel the parents, help the teachers, and try to bring an element of human warmth to the students.

The previously cited Cuban teacher, who emigrated with 15 years experience teaching in the revolutionary system, was completing course work for a teaching certificate in the U.S. when she was interviewed. She made the following observations about the two different school systems.

The two systems are very different. In Cuba, the teachers work constantly during the 4 hours of class instruction. The classrooms are more narrow and longer than the typical classrooms here. This design

enables the teacher to dominate the attention of all the students and to control the class. This organization also permits the teacher to monitor all the students carefully. All subjects and class periods are scheduled nationally so that all teachers must be doing the same thing on the same day at the scheduled time. If someone were to walk in and find the teacher still on the previous lesson, there would be a serious problem. All paper, pencils, and other materials are provided by the government, but sometimes we didn't receive as much as we needed. We had to conserve. Four children would do their lessons on one page about this size [indicating a page in a spiral note pad]. The children learn to take care of all the materials. Here the children throw away a lot of paper and other useful things. They aren't so organized. They appear to be distracted.

The Revolutionary system is from East Germany. It is a good system, I believe, but for the teacher it is terrible because we get very tired. The children are inculcated to love their school, their teachers, and their country. In first grade, we celebrated the children's learning to read with a special party on December 22. The children recite poems, sing songs, and read their own compositions. One year I had 11 children who had not learned to read. In order not to shame them I introduced them at the party by saying, "We haven't learned to read yet, but we are learning. We have all promised that in the next 3 weeks we will know how." All the children were happy and in 3 weeks everyone was reading. We look for a lot of ways to motivate the children but we avoid negative motivation. The first thing we do is organize the room in teams. The teams study together after school. If I find a child having problems, I talk to the other team members of that child's team so they will work with the child. I also keep children after school for extra help. Teachers are required to devote 2½ hours a day to this type of afterschool help. If the problem persists, we contact the parents. Whether the parents like it or not, they are obligated to support the school's efforts. The school is always sending for the parents. If they don't respond, they are designated as "uncooperative," a title they try to avoid. If the problem still continues, the school will call the work center. To be labeled uncooperative at work and in the community puts one in a very bad position.

Although the teacher's eyes sparkled as she told about the classroom and the students in Cuba, she almost began to cry at the close of the interview.

When I asked her for her address as we were parting, she said she was not a political person and did not want any publicity. The thank-you note I sent her was returned, "undeliverable."

One bilingual teacher explained her reasons for requiring certain student behavior.

In Cuba, the children were expected to shake hands with their teachers every day. That has been a tradition for a very long time. Students were expected to always welcome guests and make them feel at home. Not shaking hands or greeting a guest would be a serious offense which would warrant the principal taking the student out of the room. Now, I believe the students greet guests in Cuba, but they are much less formal. However, I still believe it is important that the students show respect to guests and visitors, so I always insist that they rise when someone enters our classroom. Courtesy is very important to me even though some administrators criticize us Cubans for asking the students to stand when visitors come in.

The teacher continued,

When they, the students, started in school upon their arrival from Cuba, they didn't seem too interested in any subject, in the school activities, sports, or anything else. The greatest problem I had with these children was their lack of foundation in education. Due to the poor educational system they have in Cuba now, the level of education of these children in some subjects was second or third grade. On the other hand, they knew a lot about who was who in the communist world. In fact, just the other day we were discussing the capitals of the world in social studies. When I asked the class where Paris was, one student said, "It's the capital of London." However, they know all about the communist countries. Now that we have been working with them for 2 years, I am very happy with what we have accomplished. Their mental attitude has changed completely. They are alert and interested in the school activities and are perfectly well-integrated with the school body. They enjoy being here and some of them like school so much that they even want to come when they are sick. Those who have already gone on to high school keep in touch to show their gratitude for what we have done for them.

During the period I was in the classroom, I observed seven different groups of former students return to visit the teacher. Three parents also came to converse with the teachers at separate times while I was there.

The North American context

Differences in cultural behavior patterns were observed in the cafeteria. "You see," said an administrator, "over there is the catsup and mustard table," pointing to a long cafeteria table with several containers. "No one," indicating the Cubans, "is allowed to sit over there anymore because someone has been spitting in the containers. But that is nothing compared to last year. When the first group arrived in 1980, I had to spend about 3 weeks teaching five or six boys how to use eating utensils."

"Do you think they didn't know how to use them, or were they pulling your leg?" I asked.

That's what I was getting to. I believe it was a little of both. They used to say, "I don't understand," as an excuse. They'd say that or "This is the way I do it." When they finally learned a little English, our relationship improved because we could talk. They admitted, at least some of them did, that what they had been doing was a lot of horse play. They had heard America was freer, and they came expecting to have a lot of fun doing anything they wanted to. One thing puzzles me though. I've traveled in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and I've observed their school systems. Somehow, when these children came, they seemed to behave very differently from what I had expected from children raised in the socialistic environment. They ran in the hallways, they threw papers, and they talked loud all the time.

The head custodian, himself a Cuban, confirmed these statements, and added, "These children have changed a lot. The teachers and the

administrators have helped them. They came here without learning or discipline, but they've really changed." He shook his head as he walked away, "They've changed a lot."

The administrator continued,

The teachers tell me that the parents said the schools had little discipline in Cuba. When the parents sent their children to school, it was with the idea of causing disruptions. They didn't like what was happening to the children, what they were learning. They also didn't like it that the children were sent away to live together, boys and girls together, in boarding schools away from their families. They didn't like this sexual freedom. The teachers say this disruptive attitude has carried over to the schools here. I don't know if this is so. I'm wondering how much of the Russian system has been adapted in Cuba.

When they first came here, I felt sorry for the students. They had suffered so much. I didn't want to punish them when they misbehaved, but the bilingual teachers insisted on it. They were right. The students expected to have someone make them toe the line. I guess the bilingual teachers know these students better than I do.

It was interesting to see how sensitive the administrator was to the social integration of the new Cubans.

Another thing that kind of surprised me was the way the Cubans who were born in the U.S. acted toward the new Cubans. They didn't like them. You'd expect them to help since they were from the same country and spoke the same language. Now they seem to be getting along better, but for awhile they didn't mix much and they called each other names. The Cuban-Americans mostly called the new Cubans names. The new Cubans still keep to themselves a lot.

Differences in sexual roles

In spite of the efforts of the Revolution to equalize sexual roles, it was obvious to the casual observer that males and females behaved

differently. "Look over there," said the administrator as he pointed to an area directly in front of us.

You see how the Cuban boys have located themselves between the Cuban girls and the rest of the cafeteria? That's how they eat every day. It looks to me as though they have cut the girls off and isolated them. They appear to want to keep them away from the rest of the students. The boys still talk very loud even though I've tried to quiet them many times. You'd almost think they were fighting the way they carry on. They are always taking each other's milk or ice cream. It's not stealing. They do it for fun, but they do keep the food and eat it. The girls usually sit in small groups. They are much quieter.

Let's go outside and see what the ones who have finished eating are doing. There are some Cubans over by the basketball court. Watch how they take each other's hats. They like to play and run around. They seem to be the most active group on the campus at lunch time. Even the Cuban girls run and play around more than the other students.

As we walked by a row of benches, a group of boys were pushing and shoving each other. One young lad fell on the walkway in front of the three of us, barely missing me. "You see what I mean," adds the administrator. "That's how the Cuban boys play."

They shove and push each other like that all the time. That's why so many have detentions. The Cuban boys get a lot of detentions. They know they are playing with each other, but they are often misunderstood. The other students and teachers think they're fighting but I don't believe they are.

Something else that I've noticed is their behavior at the school dances. Frequently, many of our parents will stop in when they bring their children to a dance. I'm in charge of all the dances, so I know what goes on. The parents don't stay very long, unless they are Cuban. Then they stay for the whole dance, especially if their child is a girl. I didn't know anyone still believed in the old-fashioned custom of chaperoning. These parents watch over their children very carefully.

Cultural similarities and continuity

Watching the students entering and leaving the bilingual classrooms and taking out and putting away their materials reminded me of how some of the students and teachers described similar behavior in Cuba. For example, the bilingual teachers had row monitors collect the textbooks and place them in neat piles at specific locations in the room. Students then were allowed to leave the room, single file, by rows. Whether the Cuban-American teachers knew this from their experience in Revolutionary Cuba and insisted on behaviors which they knew Cuban students were expected to exhibit in Cuba was not discussed. Use of familiar behavior may provide a smooth transition for the Cubans. It did increase the orderliness of the classroom.

There were other similarities. After the interviews, some of the students sought me out to continue our conversations. One outspoken boy said, "You know that I am Cuban. I will always be proud to be Cuban. No matter where I go, I will always be Cuban. No matter where I am, I can never stop being Cuban." I assured him that no one wanted to change him in any way. The need for identity seemed to be very strong for some of these students.

Even though the 1980 Cubans have been viewed as being different from previous groups of Cuban immigrants, there are elements of their language and culture that tie them to the Cuban-Americans. These similarities are the cultural webs which unite the two groups; the Cubans and the Cuban-Americans. These similarities may provide the cultural continuity which can link the Cubans with eventual adjustment to life in the U.S. The Cuban-Americans do understand the problems of

the Cubans. Almost all of the Cuban-Americans understand the struggle to master English; many are themselves still struggling to dominate the language. The following conversation between a Cuban mother and Cuban-American teachers characterizes struggle for English. "Some people who came here in 1980 don't try to study English," said a mother who came by to confer with the bilingual teachers after lunch.

But I study every day. I go to class from 9:00 until 12:00, I get a little lunch, and go to work. I am trying to learn English and capitalist accounting. I worked in socialist accounting for more than 20 years, but that is a completely different system. I always go to my English classes, because I am afraid I will miss something very important. Soon, when I learn enough, I will insist that everyone speak English around our house. In order to survive, we must speak English. When I think about my experiences in leaving Cuba, I feel like a little bird that has been set free from a cage. It's wonderful to be free! Then suddenly that little bird realizes in all this freedom there is danger. The danger is a big bird attacking the little bird on the head. That big bird is English. It is our greatest problem!

Cubans and Cuban-Americans have more in common than some realize. They have a large treasure of cultural similarities that unite them. With a very few words exchanged, this same mother and the teachers to whom she was speaking indicated that they understood something about which I had no knowledge.

The mother asked, "Have you trimmed your trees yet?"

Seeing my puzzled expression the teacher explained, "We're talking about a myth from Cuba. Today is the day to do all cutting. On this day if you cut your plants and shrubs or cut your hair, everything that you cut will be beautiful. Today is the day of the Virgin del Candelaria." Of course, almost every Cuban-American knew that.

With the installation of a different economic and social system in Cuba the speech, the habits, and the mannerisms of the people have changed. Yet, there remain many elements of the language and culture that have not yet changed. As one girl said with a far away look, "I remember my grandmother saying to me, 'Vaya con Dios' and 'Dios te bendiga,' but it was not until I came to the U.S. that I knew what she meant, because in Cuba we did not talk about God."

Discussion of Findings Regarding Hypothesis and Research Question Two

The data relevant to this hypothesis have been organized in three segments. The first section contained information collected from the participating students and parents in the form of surveys and interviews. The second section related information about the changes occurring within the community as Spanish has come to occupy a prominent position within the economic and social interests of the area around the school. The third section contains information gained through formal and informal interviews and participant observation within the school.

Until they arrived in the U.S., the Cuban students' experiences appeared to be similar to each other. School lessons were nationally standardized. Students' descriptions of their school experiences were similar. Neither they nor their parents had moved a great deal. Both parents and students had attended school in Cuba at least through the elementary level. Both parents and students exhibited behavior indicative of low reading comprehension skills. However, difficulties in interpreting the printed word could also be attributed to differences

in which printed information was presented and previous cultural experiences in Cuba. In spite of the questionable validity of the surveys, the data which emerged from both the student and parent versions was similar in several important areas. This information was corroborated by the interviews and participant observation. Of importance is the data indicating that males have more opportunities to use their English skills after school than do females. Males report that they participate on English-speaking sports teams, help their fathers in repairing the family motor vehicles, and assist the family by serving as interpreters more frequently than females do. Females report that they help mothers at home, visit Spanish-speaking friends in their homes, and watch television more frequently than males. Both males and females report that television is a valuable means of learning English.

Students' self-ratings of English proficiency correlated significantly with oral and total rank in English. Students' self-ratings in Spanish did not. Parents' self-ratings in Spanish correlated significantly with students' rank on oral Spanish. This data raises additional research questions. Have students learned to be more evaluative or aware of their English proficiency than of their fluency in Spanish? Did parents' proficiency in Spanish influence student proficiency in Spanish which is influencing acquisition of English? The relationship between parent and student language is a fruitful area for additional research as conducted by Wells (1981).

The community where the research was conducted appeared to have developed both negative and positive conditions for English language

learning. The English-speaking community appeared to be generally unaware of the social and economic influence of the Cuban-American population living in the area. Some English speakers appeared to be resentful and suspicious of the Spanish speakers. A few welcomed the Cubans and Cuban-Americans. Most Cuban-American adults living in the research area had a positive attitude toward the 1980 Cubans. They expressed a desire to help them adapt economically and educationally. The influence of the English-speaking community on the Cubans' acquisition of English would depend on the people whom the students and their parents encountered. Some students expressed fear of the English speakers. It was not known whether this fear originated from actual experiences or from ideas which students acquired in Cuba. The interactions which the students and their parents had with the English-speaking community appeared to be limited because of the lack of English skills as Rivero (1981) described. The positive influence of the Cuban-American community may be outweighed by some factions of the English-speaking community as the students and their parents acquire additional English fluency. Schumann's (1978) Acculturation Model appears to be relevant to the language acquisition of these Cubans. If they find that they are rejected by the community whose language they are learning, further English acquisition may be retarded.

The school system's influence on the acquisition of English was difficult to determine. A number of conflicting influences were present. The most obvious influence was the behavior of the students themselves. Girls sat more quietly in small groups while boys sat in larger groups talking and joking loudly. Most frequently the girls sat on the side of the tables nearest the walls; the boys sat with

their backs to the rest of the cafeteria facing the girls. This male positioning appeared to be an effort to separate the females from the rest of the students in the cafeteria and to inhibit their interaction with non-Cubans. This inhibiting behavior was visible to a lesser degree in other interactions in the school.

Cuban-American influence was present within the school. In addition to their positions as teachers, aides, and custodians, Cuban-Americans provided many support services in helping the Cubans adjust. There were some confrontations between the Cuban-American and the Cuban students initially. As students became better acquainted, these problems decreased. Friendships between the Cubans and Cuban-Americans appear to be a factor of opportunity for interaction. Cuban students who live near Cuban-Americans appear to have established friendships. Cuban students who have to travel long distances have less opportunities for social interactions.

Parents find that they, too, can communicate with the Cuban-American teachers. They have many cultural ties and much shared cultural information. These cultural and linguistic ties are a force that link Cubans to Cuban-Americans. They may prove to be a valuable asset to the Cubans in learning English and acculturating to the community and the society-at-large. As Rogg (1974) and Rogg and Cooney (1980) point out, the attitude of the receiving community, including the school, is a very important factor in enabling the Cubans to integrate. The ties which the new immigrants have with the established ethnic group provide a positive force for acculturation and assimilation.

Conclusions Regarding Hypothesis and Research Question Two

Based on the data collected, the hypothesis that students whose parents, family members, relatives, and other significant community members are reinforcing learning by their behavior will make more progress toward acquiring English skills as measured by ethnographic means than students whose parents, family members, relatives, and significant community members who do not, can be accepted with qualifications.

While it is difficult to determine exactly which behaviors within the family and community are reinforcing and inhibiting English acquisition, several elements have been observed, delineated, and discussed. The most visible inhibiting behavior was indicated by the administrator who noted that the Cuban males appeared to separate the females from the rest of the cafeteria. There is other evidence that the Cubans have linguistically related sex role behavior. Males interact in the school and English-speaking community more than females. Females stay at home and remain inside the home more than males. They are physically protected and sheltered more than their male counterparts. They do not have the need to speak English that males have.

It is not known to what extent the English-speaking community's reaction to the increased use of Spanish or the presence of the 1980 Cubans in the community has affected ethnic relations. Observable political currents exist within the community which may affect language acquisition. Cuban-Americans appear to be exerting a positive influence in acculturation. The degree to which the students are affected positively or negatively requires further study.

Hypothesis and Research Question Three

Students who utilize English communication opportunities will make more progress in mastering English as measured by ethnographic means than students who do not. Research question: Are there measurable behavioral differences which can be observed in the school environment that distinguish students who score higher on standardized written and oral tests from students who score lower on the same measures?

Language Ability and Participation in Physical Education

As I observed the students throughout the school day, I found the Cubans frequently sitting on the sidelines watching. Their lack of participation was most obvious in physical education. I interviewed the coaches to learn their opinions of the students. All four coaches were friendly and concerned. All agreed to rate student participation in class.

One of the coaches said,

We really need some help with these Cuban kids. The boys are all right. They are as coordinated and capable as any other group. Some are very good, some average, and some aren't very coordinated, just as you'd expect any group to be. But these girls! There are only a very few who try and they are pretty good. But most are very uncoordinated. As a group, they are very poor. They seldom dress out. They don't try to participate.

A second coach adds,

If you stay here next period, you'll see even more about what we mean. The girls sit around and paint their fingernails, and talk in Spanish. It doesn't matter what we say or do, they will not participate. They just keep in their little groups.

"When they do dress out, they hide in the back of the dressing room and watch over each other until all of the group has changed," adds one of the female coaches. "They act as if they were different from the other girls, but I don't know why."

One administrator was quick to observe that many of the Cuban girls wore a great deal more makeup than was customary of U.S. girls of the same age. This administrator also pointed out that those girls who did less well in physical education were also those who wore more makeup.

Correlations were performed between rating in physical education and rank on total English and Spanish scores and are displayed on Table 4-19. Results indicate that there was a significant correlation between the 12-year-olds' participation in physical education class and rank on English achievement. The statistical significance correlations decreased with age; results of the older students showed a nonsignificant negative correlation on the same measures. Analyzing the data by sex revealed a significant positive relationship for the females who did well in physical education and rank on English achievement. A significant positive correlation for Spanish and physical education was found for the males.

Discussion of Correlations of Physical Education Ratings and Language Scores

This statistical analysis confirms what participant observation revealed: those females who were unwilling to take risks in expressing themselves in English were also the ones who did not participate in physical education. It is possible that the younger students were more

Table 4-19

Correlations of Rank on Total English Scores and Rank on Total Spanish Scores and Ratings by Physical Education Teachers

	<u>English</u>		<u>Spanish</u>		n
	r	α	r	α	
Age 12	.672	.008	.274	.342	14
Age 13	.392	.107	.220	.379	18
Age 14	-.522	.287	-.007	.988	6
Age 15	-.917	.260	.361	.764	3
Females	.488	.021	-.004	.983	22
Males	.313	.191	.580	.009	19

willing to take risks, while the older ones preferred to withdraw. Anita, a younger female who participated in physical education and spoke English as well as any of the other females, suggested a partial answer. "After a girl celebrates her 15th birthday, she can wear makeup and she is expected to behave as a woman. I'm not 15 yet. When I am 15, I will behave differently." Although only a few girls were 15, many appeared older than their age because of the clothes and makeup they wore.

While age and the desire to look attractive may be an explanation for the correlation between physical education and English for the girls, the correlation between Spanish ability and physical education for the boys is more difficult to explain. The desire to maintain an image of masculinity and maintain Spanish language is one possible reason. An alternative explanation is that this behavior was limited to this specific population. Additional observation is required to determine and generalize the relationship to other groups of Cubans, Hispanics, or second language learners.

Individual Differences

I wondered if the nonparticipating behavior observed in the physical education classes would be visible in other classes. I found that it was, but to a less obvious degree. The following is an example:

"For those of you who didn't bring your products today, I have a few over here so you have no excuses for not being able to do your videotape," a teacher explained to the class as we entered. "First, we'll see a few tapes the class before you made. Then you'll have 5

minutes to practice. The girls at that table over there will present first," she said. The class was advertising an array of health care products. Each student made a videotaped commercial. One girl, in particular, stood out. She was fair with long blond hair and green eyes. As the TV camera zoomed in on her beautiful smile, the girl held a box of toothpaste and continued to look right back into the camera. She never said a word, just smiled. The teacher came over to us and quietly said,

That's Hildi. Beautiful girl, isn't she? She's Cuban. Never talks. I've never heard her say a word in English. I was surprised she would even get up in front of the camera, but she doesn't seem to be afraid of it. Oh, sure she talks to her friends in Spanish. But she's never said a word to me in English. Someone always translates for her. I don't know if she is afraid to try, or just doesn't want to speak in English. Never causes any trouble, just very quiet.

Now wait until you see Miguel. What a character. Talks all the time. Sometimes he tells me jokes that he translates from Spanish. It cracks me up because he thinks he is so funny. The jokes lose a lot in the translation; most of the time I don't even know what he is saying. But he always talks. You'll see him talking to everybody--in the cafeteria, the office, the hallways. Everyone knows him. Listen to his grammar. Terrible! But it won't be long before he will be able to communicate well. I bet he'll be a lawyer. He can explain his way out of anything. Strange though, he never does any of the writing exercises I give him.

I was interested to know how the students interacted among themselves. The following conversation that I overheard in the library while students were preparing for a José Martí program exemplified students' individual differences in their search for identity.

"Did you know that Cuba was a colony of the U.S. before it was free?" said one boy.

A second boy replied, "Free? What do you mean by free? They say Cuba is the first free territory in the Americas now, but we know it's not free."

"The U.S. used to sell everything to Cuba. You know it was a U.S. colony," answered the first.

"What would you rather be, a colony of Russia or a colony of the U.S.? At least as a colony of the U.S. you could get something to eat," the second retorts.

"The U.S. could be a great country if it could get rid of its drugs and crime. Fidel is sending the drugs here to ruin this country. I don't know why people use drugs. Drugs make people crazy. We would never buy drugs in Cuba," interjected the third boy.

"How could we? How could anybody? Nobody had any money. Fidel took care of that a long time ago!" said the second boy as everyone laughs.

"I wish," said Liliana, the only girl in the group, "that we could go back. Everyone here is crazy about these jeans and tennis shoes. I don't care a thing about them. They mean nothing to me. If I had known that we were going to stay here, I would have never left Cuba."

"Is that why you never speak English?" asked the second boy, moving closer to her as if sharing a secret.

"Me da pena," answered Liliana, wiping away a tear running down the side of her face. ("I am ashamed.")

Again, the observed behavior agrees with the ideas expressed by Moreno Fraginals (1982).

There is a terrible fear in speaking a new language, one that is foreign. The students feel more secure in their own language. I'm talking from a psychological

point of view. They may feel more secure with people of their own kind and not with North Americans, who they see as strangers. You have to remember that in Cuba we have had a very strong anti-American campaign. In the prerevolutionary textbooks there was a predominance of North American influence. The texts now are totally against North American ideas. Also, remember these children were taught to be super-patriotic. They may be feeling very guilty about having left their home country. The teenagers who came in 1980 were socialized in Cuba. For all that they may deny it, they still have many socialist ideas. For this reason, they may have a strong fear of speaking English.

I observed a preference for speaking Spanish in other parts of the school. Two ladies stopped Anita in the hallway to ask directions. They chatted with her in English and they asked Anita her name.

"Anita Suarez," she replied.

The way she pronounced her name surprised the ladies. One remarked, "You sound as if you are from New York. Anita, where are you from?"

"I'm from Cuba."

"Have you been here a long time, Anita?" the woman continued.

"I have been here for almost 2 years."

"That's great! Your accent is very good. Keep it up," the first woman said as the two women began walking on down the hall.

Anita told her friends standing nearby,

That's the way I hear the people around here pronounce my name. If I say it correctly, no one here knows what I am saying. I hate to have to say my name wrong just so people will understand me. I almost know how to speak English well now, but I still don't want to. I like Spanish. I don't like English. I wish everyone could speak the same language so we could all understand each other. The world would be more peaceful if we spoke the same language.

Anita's remark that she wished everyone spoke the same language was similar to observations made by a Spanish-speaking administrator.

If you listen to these children, you will hear them talk about the importance of equality. But listen more closely. To some of them equality means "all alike--everyone just the same." If we all thought alike, we'd have no disagreements. If everyone were the same, the world would be a more peaceful place. This meaning for "equal" [equal] is not the same for them as it is for us. It is something they learned in Cuba.

Not everyone was shy about speaking English. When tickets for the basketball game were being sold in the cafeteria, Valentina came up to me and said, "Como se dice, 'Quiero comprar?'" ["How do you say, 'I want to buy?'""] After practicing "I want to buy a ticket. I want to buy a ticket," she smiled and said in Spanish, "I try to say something new every day. That's what I must do to learn English, isn't it?" She walked over to the ticket seller repeating "I want to buy a ticket. I want to buy a ticket." She bought her own ticket instead of trying to get someone else to make the purchase for her as some of the other students did.

Group Differences

The ESL teacher was asked to select from the list of participating Cubans, three students in seventh grade and three in eighth grade who were representative of the students making substantial progress in English. Three students from both seventh and eighth grades who were representative of those making less progress were also selected. A total of six high- and six low-achieving students were selected from the two grades. Emphasis for the selection was on oral expression.

Although the students were selected by the ESL teacher, the names had to be approved by the bilingual teachers who also interacted with the students in English. Through this process, one name was eliminated because the bilingual teachers felt the student was progressing satisfactorily.

The low group

Of the five students who were agreed upon by all three teachers as making the least progress in English, one was male and four other females. Two had a brother or sister achieving at the same level or lower on written measures. The average age of the low-achieving group was 13.3. On the physical education ratings, the male received a 3.0 while the females all received 1.0.

Arturo, the only male in this group, often sought me out to practice a new sentence or bit of slang. He was always friendly and frequently asked to be taken out of class so we could "talk some more." While his English was indeed limited, he appeared to be willing to take risks in English. He used what English he knew. A boy of slight build who appeared young for his age, in class Arturo was restless. He rocked back and forth on his chair, strummed his fingers on the desk, and closed books with a bang. He was not aggressive or openly rude. He appeared self-reliant and eager for attention. Frequently, he also appeared not to be aware of what was going on around him. On written measures he ranked at the bottom of the group in both English and Spanish.

The four female low English achievers presented a very different picture from Arturo. All were extremely shy in English. I never heard

one volunteer a word in English to me or to anyone else. In the classroom they were usually quiet. In physical education they were usually on the sidelines dressed in regular clothing. Even when they occasionally dressed out, they usually did not participate. All four girls were well-developed and very attractive. All used obvious amounts of makeup.

When they spoke to someone who did not speak Spanish, they usually put their hands over their mouths as if to prevent others from understanding them. Moreno Fragnals' (1982) statement, "There is a terrible fear of speaking English which many of us have," seemed to be true of these girls. They frequently sat together, talked together, ate together, and avoided all who were not from their group.

Around me, these girls were very shy for several weeks. After I had been at the school a month, they began talking more openly. They brought magazines and other reading material to demonstrate their current interests. One article in a movie star type magazine perplexed them. This article told of a condominium where everyone was required to go nude.

While the girls appeared nonverbal and dependent on others for English communication, an analysis of written measures indicates they were learning more English than they expressed. On written tests, three of the five low English achievers were found to rank in the middle range in English achievement. Two were in the low range. In Spanish, two ranked in the middle group, while two ranked in the high range. For all practical purposes, the English communicative skills of these females were limited.

Individuals within the low group

Liliana, the most vocal female of the low group, was one of the first students I met when I began the research. During our first conversation she expressed, in Spanish, a desire to learn English and inquired about private lessons. She said she was concerned because her father had fixed the television so that it would explode if she turned it to a Spanish channel. She relayed this information to me with a serious expression. Once when sent to the office for talking in class, Liliana said she preferred to receive a punishment than to explain in English the reason for her behavior. By contrast, Liliana's sister who scored slightly less on the written scores in English, refused to use an interpreter. She said that she knew she could make herself understood. On another occasion, Liliana said she would gladly give away everything she had in the U.S. if she could just go home to Cuba. When asked why she would like to go home, she said that although her mother and father were here, the rest of the family was there and she missed them very much.

Occasionally, Liliana was observed to exasperate the teachers by asking them questions about how to carry out a request. For example, she said, "Should I use the stairs to go up to the second floor?" or "Do I go through the door to take the note to the office?" There was only one way to go to the second floor and the office and that was by the stairs and through the door. Once, while the bilingual teacher was explaining a concept in geography, Liliana began playing with the desk in front of her and dropped it right next to the teacher, just missing the teacher's foot. Whether Liliana's behavior was purposeful

or accidental was not clear. She was always friendly and eager to help the teachers and other students in Spanish.

Looking at other examples of individual and group behavior provides insights into language acquisition and use. Miguel, the student who was described by the teachers and administrators as the potential lawyer because he talked so much in English, often served as a translator for teachers and other students. He frequently volunteered to run errands and admitted that he enjoyed showing off how much English he had learned. He was not chosen as one of the six low English achievers because of his oral fluency. When administered the LAS Story Retelling subsection in Spanish, he requested to hear the story over because he said he could not remember anything, even when he looked at the accompanying pictures. At the risk of unstandardizing the administration of the test, I replayed the story for him because I wanted to know what Miguel might remember. Even after listening to the story a second time he could only provide a single short sentence of the story. Miguel seldom completed any written classwork and he ranked at the bottom of the group in English and Spanish.

Hildi, the girl who smiled at the TV camera but did not speak, was the student who was eliminated by the bilingual teachers because they felt she was making progress in English. Their opinion was based, in part, on her written work. Her rank on total English achievement was near the top of the low group and was evidence that she was learning written skills. If only written measures had been used for the six students designated as being in the low group, only two of the six would have been chosen.

In English, Miguel was one of the most outspoken students of all the participants, and Hildi was never heard to utter a word. On written measures their positions within the low group were reversed. One day when I persisted, Hildi was able to tell me her name and address.

The high achievers

Three males and three females were selected by the bilingual and ESL teachers as making substantial progress in English. All but one of these six were ranked at the top of their group in English and Spanish. This student was ranked as medium in Spanish. He was also the lowest of the six in English achievement. Two had a brother or a sister achieving at the low or medium level in written measures. The average age of these six students was 12.6. The girls wore little makeup. All these students participated in physical education and received a 4.0 or 5.0 rating by the physical education teachers.

In terms of shyness, the high-achievers were somewhat like the low achievers. There were some visible differences. They usually sought only the company of other Cubans or Spanish speakers who were in the bilingual class, but they also interacted more frequently with Cuban-Americans and North Americans. They voluntarily spoke both English and Spanish.

Anita exemplified this high English group when she used English as a tool to achieve her purposes in circulating a petition. She and the other students did not want the lockers presently located in the hallway outside the bilingual classroom to be moved inside. Anita circulated the petition to all the students in her art class and asked

them to protest the locker relocation. While clearly not comfortable in extended conversations in English, Anita's behavior was typical of the students who did not hesitate to respond in English when the occasion required it.

Alejandro, also in the high-achieving English group, could usually be found with a group of friends. Frequently, the group laughed and shared secrets. One day, when most of the students had gone to watch a basketball game, the group who remained in the classroom laughed, sang, and made fun among themselves. The teacher asked them why they did not mix with the English speakers at lunch. Alejandro answered, "Because they're very boring. They don't know how to have fun," and kept on singing and laughing.

During the interviews, all but one of these higher achieving students spoke of being leaders in their schools in Cuba. Two spoke of having been designated to attend special advanced schools for the following school year in Cuba. These students also provided more details about their lives in Cuba and in the U.S. than did the low English achievers. During the course of the regular school day none of these students ever sought me out to discuss any specific interests or concerns or provide any additional information. Although none were unfriendly, only one was openly friendly. All appeared to be serious, organized, and intent. Any questions they asked were on task and to the point.

Discussion of Findings Regarding Hypothesis and Research Question Three

It appears that the Cuban students in both the high-achieving and low-achieving English group have different expectations of what constitutes appropriate or interesting behavior. While all the Cubans are still in a period of culture shock, the high and low English-achieving groups resolve their anxieties in similar and dissimilar ways. The low English achievers maintain group solidarity and limit the way they receive information to Spanish language only. They avoid speaking English when possible. When they find an English-speaking person who also speaks Spanish, they utilize this person as a source of information and friendship. The high achievers display self-confidence by initiating conversations when necessary. They know they can communicate with English speakers, yet, they maintain group solidarity by affirming their preference for Spanish and by viewing English speakers as uninteresting people with whom they had little in common.

The most obvious measurable difference between students who were achieving higher on standardized tests and students who were not achieving was in physical education. Primarily, females did not participate. Those females who did participate scored significantly higher on English language measures. Correlations of rank on total English scores and physical education ratings were significant for females, while rank on total Spanish was significantly correlated with physical education participation for males.

Conclusions Regarding Hypothesis and Research Question Three

Sufficient data were collected to indicate that students who utilize English communication opportunities made more progress in mastering English than students who did not. There were measurable behavioral differences between students who were achieving higher on standardized oral and written measures of English and students who were achieving lower on these same tests. While there were definite indications that most students participating in the research preferred to speak Spanish, there were circumstances under which higher achieving students used English and lower achieving students avoided using it. Use of English appeared to reinforce the students' self-confidence and encouraged further English utilization.

CHAPTER FIVE CONCLUSIONS

Problem Statement

Some educators, administrators, and others charged with setting and implementing educational policy argue that students who are limited in English proficiency and who do not speak English as their first language need only intensive instruction in English to acquire proficiency. Use of the first language as a vehicle for instruction retards the learning of English according to this train of thought (Carrison, 1983). Rodriguez-Brown (1979) suggests from her research that instruction in the first language coupled with English instruction achieves greater results than English-only instruction. Cummins et al. (1982) argue that cognitive/academic achievement in English is closely related to cognitive/academic ability developed in the first language. Older immigrant children whose first language skills are already more developed make more rapid progress in mastering the academic aspects of English, than younger children whose first language skills are less developed (Cummins et al., 1982).

Although longitudinal studies of bilingual programs indicate that use of the first language is beneficial in English acquisition (Troike, 1981), little work exists on the interdependence of languages. Cummins (1979) observes the interdependence of languages in bilingual research which focused on other topics. He and his colleagues were the first to

do work specifically related to the interdependence theory. Much remains unknown about the relationship between first language ability and second language acquisition. Research on the interdependence of language is, in part, a response to educational policy which views instruction in the first language as counterproductive to English acquisition (Cummins et al., 1982). The purpose of this research is to study the relationship between first language ability and second language learning and to explore some other factors which influence the learning of a second language.

When compared with the number of studies that have been done with Mexican and Puerto Rican students, little educational research exists on Cubans. Since Cubans currently represent the largest limited English proficient population in the Florida school system, they were chosen as the target population of the research.

Discussion of Hypotheses and Research Questions

Hypothesis One

Using standardized written and oral measurements, students judged to be more proficient in Spanish will be found to make significantly more progress in learning English than students who are determined to be less proficient in Spanish. Research questions: For these students, is there a relationship between first language ability and second language acquisition? Does greater ability in first language facilitate the acquisition of the second?

An analysis of the linguistic measures in the research of this hypothesis reveals a significant positive relationship between first

language ability and second language acquisition. Greater Spanish language ability was significantly correlated with English language ability for the total group. Looking at the results by sex reveals a significant positive correlation between first language fluency and second language acquisition for males and a trend toward significance for the females. Hypotheses Two and Three investigate other factors which influence second language acquisition.

The finding that students judged to be more proficient in Spanish make more progress in learning English, could be related to the probability that these students had a higher intelligence quotient as measured by intelligence tests, than students who were judged to be less proficient in Spanish. It may be argued, therefore, that greater progress in English was due to higher intelligence. This statement requires an analysis of what constitutes intelligence, how it is measured, and what relationship may exist between intelligence and language acquisition. Rice's (1980) review of research relating language acquisition and cognitive development posits that existing research spreads across a broad continuum with two extremes. Some research indicates that cognition and language development are the same, while other research finds that the two are separate functions and develop independently. There is a broad mid-area in which language acquisition and cognitive development are somewhat interdependent.

Troike's (1981) review of bilingual programs points out that the cognitive advantages of instruction in two languages is frequently not detected for several years. Do bilingual children who score at a higher level than their monolingual ethnic peers become more intelligent as a result of using two languages (Fradd, 1981)? The issue of

intelligence as a factor in language learning will probably continue to be a source of debate. The real issue is not which is the cause and which the effect, but how can the school facilitate the limited English proficient child's academic progress and mastery of English? Fluency in the first language appears to be an advantage for those who are learning English?

Oller (1978) believes that the acquisition of language proficiency is more fundamental to the acquisition and storage of knowledge than most linguists, psychologists, and educators realize. He states that whatever is measured in achievement tests is also measured by tests of language proficiency. Bachman and Palmer (1982) conclude that including both general and specific factors (of communicative competence) provides the best explanations for language test data. Social, pragmatic, and grammar skills are all important factors in communicative proficiency (Bachman & Palmer, 1982).

The conceptualization of communicative proficiency as presented by Bachman and Palmer (1982) does not consider Cummins' (1980) constructs of Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills (BICS) and Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP). Social exchanges which occur within culturally embedded environments of everyday life require different linguistic skills from those used in culturally disembedded language. Literacy is a type of language proficiency which relies on culturally disembedded language.

The language measures employed in the research under discussion appeared to load more heavily on the CALP skills than Cummins may have envisioned. The language measures used indicate that although male and

female students scored at essentially the same level of proficiency in Spanish, they were achieving at different rates in English. While these rates were not significantly different at the time of the research, it is predicted that in a continuing trend the males would be achieving at a significantly higher rate in English than the females. A question which requires further research is the relationship of BICS to CALP in second language acquisition. Not revealed in the statistics analyzed in Hypothesis One is the fact that acquisition of BICS may be relevant to CALP mastery (Fillmore, 1982). The importance of this research will be discussed in greater detail in the review of Hypotheses Two and Three.

The purpose of this research is to provide information which will be helpful to educators, administrators, and others who must determine educational policy for students whose first language is not English. At question here is whether students' ability in one language can help them learn a second language. Vietnamese students who knew French and were taught English by utilizing the vocabulary and linguistic structures common to both English and French, learned English more rapidly than Vietnamese who did not know French and were taught using standard English as a Second Language methods (Chamot, 1982). Lexical transfer across languages within the Indo-European language family is one explanation for this relationship. However, common underlying proficiency is more than knowledge of vocabulary. At whatever level of linguistic proficiency, the ability to organize and manipulate words, i.e. to comprehend meaning in one language, can be transferred to another language. Krashen (1978) believes that inserting second language

vocabulary into first language surface structure can enable the second language learner to converse in a relatively short period of time. This method of language learning is dependent on a conscious knowledge of first language grammar.

Educators, administrators, and policy makers who are overzealous in inhibiting students' use of linguistic knowledge in the first language may, in fact, impede students' progress in transferring that information to the second. Emphasis on English-only instruction may remove an effective support which older students can utilize in learning English.

Hypothesis Two

Students whose parents, family members, relatives, and other significant community members are reinforcing learning by their behavior will make more progress toward acquiring English skills as measured by ethnographic means than students whose parents, family members, relatives, and significant community members do not. The research question: What is happening at home and in the community and the school environment that is inhibiting or facilitating the acquisition of English?

Demographic statistics of the community where the research was conducted indicate that over the past decade there has been a great deal of population growth. Hispanics are moving into and renovating the commercial and residential area around the school. This change has established some ethnically and linguistically different power structures within this district and brought about an unacknowledged area of conflict. While many in the established community avoid the issue by

ignoring it, some local citizens have reacted with anger to the emergence of Spanish as an important language in the community. Some members of the established community have welcomed the newcomers and are enthusiastic about the revitalization. It appears that the students' and parents' awareness of the English-speaking community has been restricted by their limited knowledge of English. While students and parents have some notions about what is happening, this information has been influenced by prior experiences in Cuba. It has also been filtered through their interactions with the Cuban-American community in which they reside, as well as the larger Cuban-American population of south Florida. The effect of political sentiments of the community on language acquisition requires additional study.

The school reflects the change occurring in the community. The Hispanic population has increased to over 20%, yet, Spanish as a language is discouraged except in "Spanish class." Elsewhere the emphasis is on English. In spite of the need which newly arrived students and parents have for orientation and guidance, no guidance services are provided in Spanish. A bilingual clerk is available for translations, but in accordance with school policy all conversation is in English except in emergency situations.

Administrators and school staff state that the Cuban students' behavior has changed over the period of time they have been attending the school. It now conforms much more to the expectations of the school authorities. There are, nevertheless, behavioral differences between the Cuban and the non-Cuban students that still exist. The

existence of these differences in behavior was documented. The effect of language policy and attitude toward language on language learning was not determined. The effect of student behavior in influencing language use was also documented and appeared to be significantly related to language learning.

A significant insight in the research was the pattern of students' behavior which was observed within the school and noted within the home and community through the use of surveys and interviews. The behavior which was observed in the school cafeteria where male Cubans positioned themselves between the female Cubans and the rest of the students in the cafeteria epitomizes this pattern. As Erickson (1981) points out, specific social activities such as the cafeteria behavior reported here can be seen as the manifestation of important structural patterns of culture. It is not that the cafeteria is the most important setting for understanding differences in male/female language acquisition, but the cafeteria setting is a context that illuminates and makes apparent these differences and their cultural significance. The pattern of more extensive male interaction with the English-speaking community, as a result of participation in activities outside the home, and limited female interaction with English speakers as a result of staying within the social confines of the home and home language, was exemplified in the positioning behavior of the males and females in the cafeteria. During the lunch period, some females' use of English BICS remained at a low level as males made purchases and negotiated requests for them. This behavior suggests a contradiction that must be dealt with by Cuban-Americans. On one hand, the strategic acculturation needed for economic and social

standing in the U.S. includes fluency in English. On the other hand, traditional attitudes of protection and concern for women can, as in this case, make such acculturation difficult.

A second important point in the analysis of the positioning pattern of the males in the cafeteria is the fact that most consistently turned their backs to the rest of the student body. Although most were linguistically competent enough to carry on conversations in English, they turned away from the English speakers and relied almost exclusively on interaction with their fellow Cubans. The occasional exceptions which occurred included U.S. blacks and Haitians who sometimes joined the Cuban group. The statement by one of the males that "people in the U.S. are boring and don't know how to have fun" was echoed in conversations with Cuban students as well as Cuban-Americans.

Both the behavior of the males and the females suggests a lack of social identification and the absence of a desire for integration with the English-speaking group. Schumann's (1978) Acculturation Model does not appear to be functioning here. Krashen's (1978) work is relevant to the observed pattern of behavior, in that, the lack of integrative motivation may be the result of perceived feelings of ill will emanating from or toward the English speakers. The social aspect of language learning as presented in Chapter One and reviewed in Chapter Two is an important force which must be considered. Perhaps the adolescent years are not the best for acquiring a second language. Although students are at their optimum learning capacity in terms of acquiring and using the rule-governed aspects of language which are

taught at school, the desire to remain within one's own peer group and to maintain previously established behavioral patterns overshadows the integrative motivation for learning a second language. Both Krashen (1978) and Schumann (1978) believe that attitude toward the target language speakers is more important than aptitude in second language acquisition.

An analysis of students' and parents' self-rating of language proficiency did provide some interesting data. Students' self-ratings of their ability to speak, understand, read, and write English were significantly correlated with oral and total English scores. Only reading and oral English and writing and total English were not significantly correlated. No significant correlations were found for the students' self-ratings with rank on oral and total Spanish. Parents' self-ratings in speaking and writing Spanish are significantly correlated with students' rank on oral Spanish scores. Although the relationship is tenuous, it may be parents' reinforcement of Spanish language skills in the home is another significant factor influencing English learning. The analyses indicate that there is a relationship between fluency in one language and acquisition of the second. Parents' self-ratings of Spanish language are significantly correlated with students' rank on oral Spanish skills. Rank on Spanish skills is significantly correlated to rank on English skills. These statistically significant correlations indicate a need for further research to determine how parents' attitude and ability in first language may influence second language acquisition. Wells' (1981) work suggests some explanations for the first language relationship between parent and child language.

Looking at the relationship of parents' first language and students' acquisition of the second language could provide valuable information on the influence of the home in second language learning.

Little research exists on Cuban family-school interaction. Consideration should be given to studying how the relationship of the language of the home and the language of the school affects school learning. Cummins (1981) concludes that, ". . . under certain conditions, a switch to the use of the majority language in the home is associated with poor academic progress in the majority language" (p. 32). Many educators believe that parents should be encouraged to speak the language of the school with their children. According to this belief, use of a language other than English prevents the students from acquiring English fluency and retards education progress. The survey results indicate that in the homes of the research participants, Spanish is being spoken, almost exclusively, by the parents to the children, but that the children are beginning to switch to English in speaking to parents and other relatives. Should research reveal that first language reinforcement in the home is not detrimental to second language acquisition, parents should be encouraged to continue to speak to their children in the first language.

Of greatest importance in the analysis of the data relevant to Hypothesis Two is the finding that Cuban males have more opportunities to interact in the English-speaking community than do Cuban females. These opportunities appear to be culturally related. Males serve as family agents and interpreters. They play on sports teams and help their fathers. Females have so far remained at home to help their

mothers. They have not taken extracurricular positions in clubs or scholastic organizations as is common among earlier Cuban-American female students in south Florida.

Fathman (1976) finds that the need to know the language is an important factor in learning it. The culturally related expectations appear to be influencing female behavior in two ways. First, their behavior is limited to a more passive role inside the home. As listener rather than actor, females have less opportunities for interaction and less need to learn English. Second, traditionally established culturally determined behavior patterns can be maintained if females are limited in their interaction in English. Smith (1980) observed the cultural influence of sex role behavior on Portuguese females and its effect on their acquisition of English. Her observations appear relevant to this learning environment. The behavior observed in the cafeteria may be an extension of the cultural expectations learned at home. While males were not scoring statistically higher than females at the time of testing, there was a trend toward significance. More research is required to determine if these culturally relevant sexual role differences eventually result in significant differences in levels of achievement in English. The school staff should be alerted to this possibility and develop methods for encouraging females to use English more without engendering fundamental conflicts of cultural values.

Hypothesis Three

Students who utilize English communication opportunities will make more progress in mastering English as measured by ethnographic means

than students who do not. Research question: Are there measurable behavioral differences which can be observed in the school environment that distinguish students who score higher on standardized written and oral tests from students who score lower on the same measures?

The data collected during this research reveal that this hypothesis should be accepted. There are measurable behavioral differences that distinguish students who score higher on standardized written and oral tests from students who score lower on the same measures.

Data provided by the physical education teachers who ranked the students on class participation was significantly different for males and females. Male participation in physical education in class was significantly correlated with rank on Spanish scores. Female participation was significantly correlated with rank on English. Participant observation during physical education found that females who scored lower on oral English measures exhibited behavior which enabled them to avoid contact with English-speaking students and teachers. Observations of classroom interaction revealed the avoidance behavior was ubiquitous for low English achieving females. Students who scored significantly higher on oral and written measures did not avoid English. High-achieving English students initiated conversations with English speakers and used English to accomplish their own purposes. Occasionally they would seek out English speakers who would supply needed words and phrases. Low English achievers who avoided English stated that they did not have the skill necessary to express themselves. High English achievers stated that they could speak English.

The students who were observed to avoid oral English communication were not the students who were making the least progress in written expression. The low group in written expression was composed of males and females. Most of this group scored low in both English and Spanish written measures. The lowest group of oral English achievers was composed of all females. These females appeared to fit Smith's (1980) description of the "marginal man," the immigrant on the edge of the new society. Smith found that Portuguese females were conditioned to maintain traditional social networks that required them to appear less acculturated and less fluent in English. Female survival skills are deeply related to maintenance of both cultures, the new and the old. To become too integrated into the new is to lose contact with the old. The same culturally regulated sexual roles was noted by Garcia (1980), who observed that in spite of 15 years of revolutionary teaching, Cuban male attitudes toward women have not changed. Garcia's observations are confirmed by Montaner (1981) who points out that although there has been a great deal of talk about the liberated female in Cuba, few females occupy positions of importance within the revolutionary government.

Male behavior in Spanish was not observed during physical education primarily because of the difficulty in accompanying males during this class. The fact that rank on Spanish was significantly correlated with participation in physical education appears to be related to cafeteria behavior discussed in Hypothesis Two. Males also appear to be carrying on cultural roles. Those who are more proficient in Spanish are also those students who are most active in physical

education activities. In other classes, males appeared to be the primary initiators of interactions. Males were most frequently found in detention class. Low-achieving males were not timid about trying out new English phrases or interacting in English.

Additional research should be devoted to determining how culturally differentiated sexual roles affect language acquisition. Additional research is required to determine the extent to which English language avoidance behavior may exist in other populations of 1980 Cubans, and other similar female immigrant groups. Further study should also be devoted to language instruction which increases female interaction with English speakers within culturally relevant contexts.

Conclusions

The first hypothesis that posited a significant relationship between first language fluency and second language acquisition was accepted. The significance of this finding to educators, administrators, and educational policy makers is that the first language which the students speak can be used as a foundation for learning a second language. It should not be necessary for students to give up their mother tongue to learn English. Acquisition of English is not only compatible with maintenance of the first language, it appears to be related to it. More research is required to determine ways in which first language can be utilized to increase fluency in the second.

Correlations between first and second language proficiency, fluency in Spanish, and acquisition of English were found to be

statistically significant for males and for the group. There was only a trend toward significance for females. There was no statistical difference between males and females on Spanish proficiency. While there was no significant statistical difference between males and females in English, there was a trend toward significance in the differences present.

The second hypothesis which posited that parents, family members, and other significant people influenced second language learning was accepted. Political influences and attitudes toward language which were observed in the community and the school environment were documented. Correlations between parents' self-ratings and students' rank on oral scores was statistically significant. Students' self-ratings and rank on English scores were also significantly related. Ethnographic measures indicate that some female students avoided oral English communication. Cultural expectations for males provide opportunities for them to acquire and use English which were not available for females. More research is required to determine the extent which cultural expectations and sexual roles influence English learning.

The third hypothesis posited that students who utilized English communication opportunities would make significantly more progress in learning English was accepted. Participant observations revealed that some students accepted opportunities to speak in English and some students avoided them. The avoidance behavior appeared to be related to cultural expectations for sexual roles. The avoidance behavior was most clearly observable during physical education class. Female participation in physical education was statistically correlated with

total English scores. Male participation was significantly correlated with males' scores in Spanish.

Exploration of Hypotheses Two and Three revealed that there were major differences in male and female behavior. Both males and females appeared to be playing culturally prescribed roles. Some of the females accepted male dominance and appeared to withdraw from contact and social interaction with the English-speaking students. Females who rejected this subordinate role participated with the English-speaking students and were achieving significantly better in oral communication.

Recommendations

Knowledge that a significant relationship exists between first language fluency and second language acquisition should give educators, administrators, and second language education policy makers additional information on which to make judgements about the importance of bilingual classes for students who are learning English as a second or additional language. Students who are more proficient in their first language are making the most progress in English.

Some of the students appear to be adjusting to North American culture. These students appear to be confident of their ability to use English effectively (Krashen, 1978). These students use English to achieve their own purposes as an instrument or vehicle for obtaining their own goals. These students could serve as role models for other students who are achieving less well in English.

Teachers are also models who can help students gain confidence in their own ability to communicate effectively in English. All

teachers who work with the Cubans are charged with the responsibility of helping them learn. These teachers could benefit from training in multicultural education, techniques for implementing multicultural curriculum, and methods for working with students who had limited English proficiency.

Parents could be used in implementing the multicultural curriculum by presenting information on the differences and similarities in U.S. and Cuban schools and afterschool activities. Parents could be encouraged to continue to speak Spanish with their children at home.

The services of the guidance office could be helpful in expanding Cuban students' understanding of North American culture, as well as providing information on educational and career alternatives. The guidance counselor could be instrumental in helping students overcome the traumas of culture shock. The counselor could work with both the students and faculty in removing some of the stereotypes about differences in culture and language. Above all, the counselor could help students overcome their hesitation in speaking English. He or she could work with teachers in building bridges between the English- and Spanish-speaking communities within the school.

Second language educational policy should be extended to all parts of the school, including the library. The quantity and type of library books available for the Spanish-speaking students should be assessed in terms of interest and readability. Spanish language books of interest to 13-15-year-olds should be available. Low level, high interest English language books should also be available. All students should know how to check out books and be afforded the opportunity to do so.

Recommendations for Additional Research

This research has raised more questions than it has resolved. Some of the more obvious questions are suggested below.

1. Additional research should be directed toward analyzing the components of language that transfer most easily across languages. How can second language instruction maximize "underlying common proficiency?"

2. Further study of the multicultural school as an ecological system could reveal patterns of communication which facilitate and inhibit English acquisition. A knowledge of these patterns would be insightful to second language learning theory. Such knowledge would also be helpful in planning strategies to expand the communication networks of the limited English proficient learners, and to encourage a need to communicate.

3. Additional research should be devoted to cultural influences of language acquisition. Are there teenage cultural patterns or cultural expectations which inhibit or encourage the learning of English? If these patterns or expectations are present, how can the school system utilize them to encourage English language learning?

4. The question of political perceptions should be studied further. How are peoples' perceptions of each other influenced by the language or languages they speak?

APPENDIX A
INTERVIEWEES AND INFORMANTS

In the Research Community

- 41 participating Cuban junior high school students
- 4 Cuban parents
- 15 Teachers (6 Cuban-American, 9 U.S.)
- 8 School staff (3 Cuban-American, 2 other Hispanic, 3 U.S.)
- 6 Administrators (6 U.S.)
- 15 Other junior high school students (6 Cuban, 6 other Hispanic, 6 U.S.)
- 8 Merchants and store keepers (2 Cuban, 4 Cuban-American, 2 U.S.)
- 1 Social Program Director (Cuban-American)
- 1 Deputy Sheriff (Cuban-American)
- 1 Accountant (Cuban-American)
- 3 Editors or Assistant Editors, local newspapers (1 Cuban-American, 2 U.S.)
- 3 Retired teachers/professors (2 Cuban-American, 1 U.S.)

Outside the Research Community,
Principally Dade County, Florida

- 1 Assistant Editor, major newspaper (U.S.)
- 2 Journalists (1 Cuban, 1 Cuban-American)
- 6 Teachers (1 Cuban, 2 Cuban-American, 3 U.S.)
- 2 Bilingual Program Administrators (2 Cuban-American)

- 7 Professors (1 Cuban-Cuban, 4 Cuban-American, 2 U.S.)
- 2 Directors of Public Assistance Programs (1 Cuban-American, 1 U.S.)
- 1 Photographer (Cuban-American)
- 2 Parents (Cuban)
- 10 Merchants and shop keepers (4 Cuban, 6 Cuban-American)
- 1 Artist (Cuban)
- 1 Research Director (Cuban-American)
- 1 Librarian (Cuban-American)

APPENDIX B
STUDENTS' LETTER OF PERMISSION

Estimado(a) alumno(a),

Usted ha sido seleccionado para participar en una investigación para saber más del progreso de los inmigrantes recién llegados de Cuba en aprender el inglés. Toda la información coleccionada será mantenida confidencial dentro los límites de la ley. No será utilizada de ninguna forma para influenciar las notas que Ud. reciba en el colegio o con respecto a su estado en este país. Esta información será útil para comprender como los estudiantes, como Ud., están aprendiendo el inglés.

Su cooperación consistirá en tomar algunas pruebas cortas en inglés y español, en llenar una encuesta en español, en hablar conmigo sobre sus experiencias educativas en Cuba y en aprender el inglés en los Estados Unidos. La cooperación de sus padres también será solicitada y consistirá en llenar una encuesta y en hablar conmigo.

Si Ud. tiene dudas o preguntas sobre la investigación o su participación, puede tener confianza en discutir las conmigo. Se puede retirar de la investigación en cualquier momento sin prejuicio.

Su segura servidora,

Aprobado por el director de la escuela,

Sandra Fradd
Investigadora

Director

Favor de indicar la respuesta que demuestra su preferencia sobre la investigación.

He leído la explicación sobre la encuesta y he tenido la oportunidad de discutirla con la investigadora.

Consiento participar en la investigación. _____

No consiento participar en la investigación. _____

Entiendo que no recibiré ningún dinero por participar en esta investigación.

Firma completa

Fecha

Firma del testigo

Fecha

Firma del testigo

Fecha

Firma de la investigadora

Fecha

APPENDIX C
PARENTS' LETTER OF PERMISSION

Estimados padres,

Su hijo/a ha sido seleccionado para participar en una investigación para saber más del progreso de los recién llegados inmigrantes de Cuba en aprender el inglés. Toda la información coleccionada será mantenida confidencial dentro de los límites de la ley. No será utilizada en ninguna forma para influenciar las notas que su hijo/a reciba en el colegio o su estado aquí en este país. La información será útil para comprender como los estudiantes están aprendiendo el inglés.

Se solicita su cooperación en hacer la investigación, primero en dejar a su hijo/a tomar algunas pruebas cortas en inglés y español, en llenar una encuesta, y en hablar conmigo sobre sus experiencias educativas en Cuba y en aprender el inglés en los Estados Unidos; segundo en llenar una encuesta y también hablar conmigo de sus experiencias y aspiraciones. Se pueden retirar de la investigación en cualquier momento sin prejuicio.

Si ustedes tienen dudas o preguntas sobre la investigación o su participación en ella, pueden llamarme por teléfono al número indicado arriba y discutirlo con confianza.

Su segura servidora,

Aprobado por el director de la escuela,

Sandra Fradd
Investigadora

Director

Favor de indicar la respuesta que demuestra su preferencia sobre la investigación.

Hemos leído la explicación sobre la investigación y hemos tenido la oportunidad de discutirla con la Sra. Fradd. Entendemos que no vamos a recibir ninguna compensación monetaria por participar. Consentimos participar en la investigación.

Permitimos que nuestro/a hijo/a participe en la investigación. _____

No consentimos participar en la investigación. _____

No permitimos que nuestro/a hijo/a participe en la investigación. _____

Firma de padre, madre, o patrocinador/a

Fecha

Nombre de hijo/a

Número de teléfono
donde reciben llamadas

Testigo

Fecha

Investigadora

Fecha

APPENDIX D
ENCUESTA PARA ESTUDIANTES (STUDENT SURVEY)

Por favor, encierre con un circulo la letra que mejor vaya con su respuesta:

1. Para asistir al colegio, ¿vivió Vd. con sus padres o en un internado?
 - a. con padres
 - b. internado
 - c. otro _____
2. ¿Cuantos años asistió al colegio en Cuba?
 - a. 5 o menos
 - b. 6
 - c. 7 o más
3. ¿Estudió inglés en Cuba?
 - a. sí
 - b. no
 - c. no sé
4. ¿Estudió otros idiomas ademas de inglés o español en Cuba?
 - a. sí
 - b. no
 - c. no sé
5. ¿Cuantos hermanos o hermanas mayores tiene?
 - a. 0
 - b. 1-2
 - c. 3-4
 - d. 5 o más
6. ¿Cuantos hermanos o hermanas menores tiene?
 - a. 0
 - b. 1-2
 - c. 3-4
 - d. 5 o más

7. ¿Cuántos hermanos o hermanas viven con Vd. ahora?
- a. 0
 - b. 1-2
 - c. 3-4
 - d. 5 o más
8. ¿Cuántos otros parientes viven con Vd. ahora?
- a. 0
 - b. 1-2
 - c. 3-4
 - d. 5 o más
9. ¿Le vienen a visitar sus amigos y parientes?
- a. sí
 - b. no
 - c. no sé
10. ¿Qué hace con más frecuencia después del colegio diariamente?
- a. deportes
 - b. TV
 - c. bailar
 - d. visita a sus amigos o amigas
 - e. estudia solo
 - f. estudia con un amigo o más
 - g. trabajar
 - h. otro _____
11. ¿Cuántos amigos o amigas tiene en el colegio?
- a. 0
 - b. 1-2
 - c. 3-4
 - d. 5-6
 - e. 7 o más
12. ¿Cuántos amigos tiene que no asisten a este colegio?
- a. 0
 - b. 1-2
 - c. 3-4
 - d. 5-6
 - e. 7 o más

13. ¿Tiene Vd. amigos o amigas del colegio quienes le hacen visitas en casa?
- a. No
 - b. Sí, pero no con frecuencia, una vez al mes o menos.
 - c. Sí, más que una vez al mes pero menos que vez en la semana.
 - d. Sí, más que una vez a la semana pero menos que diariamente.
 - e. Sí, diariamente o casi diariamente.
14. ¿Recibe Vd. muchas llamadas por teléfono?
- a. No, una vez por semana o menos.
 - b. Más o menos, 2 a 4 veces a la semana.
 - c. Sí, más o menos una vez al día.
 - d. Sí, 2 o más llamadas al día.
15. ¿Tiene oficios que hacer en casa?
- a. sí
 - b. no
 - c. no sé
16. Si tiene oficios que hacer, ¿cuales son? Indique el que Vd. hace con más frecuencia.
- a. cuidar niños
 - b. limpieza
 - c. cocinar
 - d. el jardín
 - e. otro _____
 - f. nada _____
17. ¿Alguien le ayuda con sus oficios?
- a. hermano o hermana
 - b. padre o madre
 - c. abuelo o abuela
 - d. tío o tía
 - e. amigo o amiga
 - f. otro _____
 - g. nadie _____
18. ¿Alguien le ayuda con su tarea?
- a. hermano o hermana
 - b. padre o madre
 - c. abuelo o abuela
 - d. tío o tía
 - e. amigo o amiga
 - f. otro _____
 - g. nadie _____

19. ¿Tiene Vd. una o dos personas favoritas con quien pasar el tiempo?

- a. sí
- b. no
- c. no sé

20. ¿Quien es la persona favorita con quien le gusta pasar el tiempo?

- a. hermano o hermana
- b. padre o madre
- c. abuelo o abuela
- d. tío o tía
- e. primo o prima
- f. otro _____
- g. nadie

21. ¿Quiere Vd. aprender inglés?

- a. sí
- b. no
- c. no sé

22. El motivo más importante para aprender inglés es

- a. conseguir mejor empleo
- b. tener más amigos
- c. ayudar a mi familia
- d. sacar buenas notas en el colegio
- e. estudiar en la universidad
- f. otro _____
- g. no es importante

Qué porcentaje de español o inglés usa Vd. en cada una de las siguientes situaciones? (marque una)

	solo español	generalmente español	½ español/½ inglés	generalmente inglés	solo inglés	no corresponde
23. En casa, hablando con sus padres	a	b	c	d	e	f
24. En casa con personas mayores	a	b	c	d	e	f

	solo español	generalmente español	½ español/½ inglés	generalmente inglés	solo inglés	no corresponde
25. En casa con personas menores	a	b	c	d	e	f
26. Parientes hablándole a Vd. en casa	a	b	c	d	e	f
27. En su barrio, con sus vecinos	a	b	c	d	e	f
28. Cuando va a comprar en el barrio	a	b	c	d	e	f
29. Hablándoles a sus amigos en el colegio	a	b	c	d	e	f
30. Despues del colegio, hablándoles a sus amigos	a	b	c	d	e	f
31. Vd. en la iglesia	a	b	c	d	e	f
32. Cuando Vd. oye el radio	a	b	c	d	e	f
33. Cuando Vd. mira TV	a	b	c	d	e	f
34. Cuando Vd. lee el periódico	a	b	c	d	e	f
35. Cuando Vd. va a ver las películas	a	b	c	d	e	f
36. Cuando Vd. lee libros	a	b	c	d	e	f

37-44. Diga cuál es su conocimiento de los dos idiomas de acuerdo a la siguiente escala: (Ponga el número apropiado del 1 a 5 en cada línea.)

1. nada 2. poco 3. O.K. 4. bien 5. muy bien

	Hablar	Entender	Leer	Escribir
inglés	<u>37</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>40</u>
español	<u>41</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>43</u>	<u>44</u>

45. ¿Se debe usar el español en la escuela?
- a. sí
 - b. no
 - c. no sé
46. ¿Debería enseñarse el español como materia en los programas de la escuela?
- a. sí
 - b. no
 - c. no sé
47. Algunas personas creen que si les enseñan en español a los estudiantes, ellos se van a atrasar con el inglés. ¿Cual es su opinion?
- a. Sí, se van a atrasar con el inglés.
 - b. No van a aprender ninguna lengua bien.
 - c. Pueden aprender las dos lenguas al mismo tiempo.
 - d. Pueden aprender las dos al mismo tiempo, pero no muy bien.
 - e. Otro _____

APPENDIX E
ENCUESTA PARA LOS PADRES (PARENT SURVEY)

Por favor encierre con un círculo el número que mejor vaya con su respuesta:

1. Persona que contesta

- a. padre
- b. madre
- c. abuelo-abuela
- d. pariente-- ¿quién? _____
- e. otro _____

2. Sexo

- a. mujer
- b. hombre

3. ¿Cuánto tiempo Vd. ha estado en este condado?

- a. menos de 6 meses
- b. 6 meses a 12 meses
- c. 13 meses a 18 meses
- d. más de un año y medio

4. ¿Cuántos años asistió a la escuela en Cuba?

- a. ninguno
- b. escuela elemental
- c. los dos primeros años de secundaria
- d. escuela secundaria
- e. universidad

5. ¿En qué trabaja ahora?

- a. sin empleo
- b. ama de casa
- c. empleado en factoría o en el campo
- d. mantenimiento, limpieza
- e. vendedor/a
- f. oficina, tienda
- g. enfermero/a
- h. ayudante de maestro
- i. profesional
- j. especifique _____
si es otro _____

6. ¿En qué trabajó en Cuba?
- a. sin empleo
 - b. ama de casa
 - c. empleado en fábrica o en el campo
 - d. mantenimiento, limpieza
 - e. vendedor/a
 - f. oficina, tienda
 - g. enfermera/o
 - h. ayudante de maestro/a
 - i. maestro/a o profesor/a
 - j. profesional
 - k. otro especifique _____
7. ¿Cuántos hijos tiene?
- a. 1-2
 - b. 3-4
 - c. 5-6
 - d. 7-8 o más
8. ¿Cuántos de sus hijos están viviendo en los Estados Unidos?
- a. 1-2
 - b. 3-4
 - c. 5-6
 - d. 7-8 o más
9. ¿Cuántos de sus hijos están viviendo con Vd. ahora?
- a. 1-2
 - b. 3-4
 - c. 5-6
 - d. 7-8 o más
10. ¿Cuántas personas en su familia salieron de Cuba con Vd.?
- a. 1-2
 - b. 3-4
 - c. 5-6
 - d. 7-8 o más
11. ¿Cuántas personas de su familia ya habían ido de Cuba cuando Vd. se fué?
- a. 0
 - b. 1-2
 - c. 3-4
 - d. 5-6
 - e. 7-8 o más

12. ¿Cuántos parientes o amigos íntimos viven cerca de Vd. ahora?
- a. 0
 - b. 1-2
 - c. 3-4
 - d. 5-6
 - e. 7-8 o más
13. ¿Con cuántas parientes o amigos íntimos habla diariamente?
- a. 0
 - b. 1-2
 - c. 3-4
 - d. 5-6
 - e. 7-8 o más
14. ¿Con cuántos parientes o amigos habla semanalmente?
- a. 0
 - b. 1-2
 - c. 3-4
 - d. 5-6
 - e. 7-8 o más
15. ¿Cuántos parientes o amigos íntimos tiene en otras partes del estado de Florida?
- a. 0
 - b. 1-2
 - c. 3-4
 - d. 5-6
 - e. 7-8 o más
16. ¿Cuántos parientes o amigos íntimos tiene en otras partes de EEUU?
- a. 1-2
 - b. 3-4
 - c. 5-6
 - d. 7-8 o más
17. ¿Habla idiomas ademas de inglés o español?
- a. francés
 - b. italiano
 - c. árabe
 - d. ruso
 - e. hebreo
 - f. otro
 - g. ninguno más
-

18. ¿Lee Vd. otras idiomas ademas de inglés o español?

- a. francés
- b. italiano
- c. árabe
- d. ruso
- e. hebreo
- f. otro _____
- g. ninguno más

19. ¿Está estudiando inglés ahora?

- a. no
- b. sí
- c. Ahora no, pero antes sí.
- d. Ahora no, pero pienso hacerlo en el futuro.

20. ¿En qué manera ha estudiado o piensa estudiar inglés?

- a. clases durante el día
- b. clases de noche
- c. lecciones privadas
- d. libros en casa
- e. otro _____
- f. No tengo motivo para aprender inglés.
- g. Tengo motivo pero no tengo tiempo para estudiarlo.

Qué porcentaje de español o inglés usa Vd. en cada una de las siguientes situaciones? (marque una)

	sólo español	generalmente español	½ español/½ inglés	generalmente inglés	sólo inglés	no corresponde
21. Hablando con sus hijos en casa.	a	b	c	d	e	f
22. Niños hablándole a Vd. en casa.	a	b	c	d	e	f
23. Hablando con sus parientes en casa.	a	b	c	d	e	f
24. Parientes hablándole a Vd. en casa.	a	b	c	d	e	f
25. En su barrio, con sus vecinos.	a	b	c	d	e	f
26. Cuando va a comprar en el barrio.	a	b	c	d	e	f

	sólo español	generalmente español	½ español/½ inglés	generalmente inglés	sólo inglés	no corresponde
27. Hablándole a su supervisor en el trabajo.	a	b	c	d	e	f
28. Vd. con sus compañeros de trabajo.	a	b	c	d	e	f
29. Cuando va a la iglesia.	a	b	c	d	e	f
30. Cuando Vd. mira TV.	a	b	c	d	e	f
31. Cuando Vd. lee el periódico.	a	b	c	d	e	f
32. Cuando Vd. va a ver las películas.	a	b	c	d	e	f
33. Cuando Vd. lee libros.	a	b	c	d	e	f

34-41. Diga cuál es su conocimiento de los dos idiomas de acuerdo a la siguiente escala. (Ponga el número apropiado del 1 al 5 en cada línea.)

1. nada 2. poco 3. O.K. 4. bien 5. muy bien

	Hablar	Entender	Leer	Escribir
inglés	<u>34</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>37</u>
español	<u>38</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>41</u>

42. ¿Debería enseñarse el español en la escuela?

- a. sí
- b. no
- c. no sé

43. ¿Debería enseñarse el español como materia en los programas de la escuela?

- a. sí
- b. no
- c. no sé

44. Algunas personas creen que si les enseñan en español a los niños, ellos se van a atrasar con el inglés. ¿Cual es su opinion?
- a. Sí, se van a atrasar con el inglés.
 - b. No van a aprender ninguna lengua bien.
 - c. Pueden aprender los dos lenguas al mismo tiempo.
 - d. Pueden aprender los dos al mismo tiempo, pero no muy bien.
 - e. Otro _____
45. ¿Ha visitado la escuela de su hijo?
- a. 1-2 veces
 - b. semanalmente
 - c. mensualmente
 - d. nunca
46. Indique las persona con quien Vd. ha hablado más en la escuela.
- a. director
 - b. profesora
 - c. ayudante
 - d. secretaria
 - e. otro _____
47. ¿Tiene su hijo/a amigos/as en la escuela de los quienes el/ella habla en casa?
- a. No
 - b. Sí, pero no con frecuencia, menos que una vez al mes.
 - c. Sí, el/ella habla de vez en cuando, más que una vez al mes pero menos que una vez la semana.
 - d. Sí, habla frecuentemente, más que una vez la semana.
48. ¿Tiene su hijo/a amigos/as de la escuela que le hacen visitas a casa?
- a. No
 - b. Sí, pero no con frecuencia, una vez al mes o menos.
 - c. Sí, más que una vez al mes pero menos que una vez en la semana.
 - d. Sí, más que una vez a la semana pero menos que diariamente.
 - e. Sí, diariamente o casi diariamente.
49. ¿Habla por teléfono con frecuencia su hijo/a?
- a. No, habla una vez por semana o menos.
 - b. Más o menos, habla entre 2 y 4 veces por semana.
 - c. Sí, habla más o menos una vez al día.
 - d. Sí, habla más de 2 veces al día.
50. ¿Tiene su hijo oficios que hacer en casa?
- a. sí
 - b. no
 - c. no sé

51. Si su hijo tiene oficios que hacer, ¿cuál es el que se hace con más frecuencia?
- a. cuidar niños
 - b. limpieza
 - c. cocinar
 - d. el jardín
 - e. otro _____
 - f. nada
52. ¿Alguien ayuda a su hijo/a con su tarea?
- a. hermano/a
 - b. padre o madre
 - c. abuelo/a
 - d. tío/a
 - e. amigo/a
 - f. otro _____
 - g. nadie
53. ¿Qué hace su hijo con más frecuencia para recreo?
- a. deportes
 - b. TV
 - c. bailar
 - d. visita a sus amigos
 - e. otro _____
54. ¿Tiene su hijo/a uno o dos personas especiales para pasar el tiempo?
- a. sí
 - b. no
 - c. no sé
55. ¿Con quién le gusta más a su hijo pasar tiempo?
- a. hermano/a
 - b. padre o madre
 - c. abuelo/a
 - d. tío/a
 - e. primo/a
 - f. amigo/a
 - g. otro _____
 - h. nadie
56. ¿Quiere Vd. que su hijo/a aprenda inglés?
- a. sí
 - b. no
 - c. no sé
 - d. no me importa

57. El motivo más importante para aprender inglés es

a. conseguir mejor empleo

b. tener más amigos

c. ayudar a la familia

d. otro _____

e. no es importante

APPENDIX F
ORAL PROFICIENCY RATING SCALE

English and Spanish

Student's Name _____ Grade _____
 Teacher _____ Date _____
 School _____ Rater _____
 District _____

INSTRUCTIONS: Please refer to the accompanying criteria sheet and circle below the number corresponding to the statement which most accurately describes the student's level of proficiency for each of the language components indicated.

Pronunciation	Grammar	Vocabulary	Comprehension	Overall Communicative Skill
1	1	1	1	1
2	2	2	2	2
3	3	3	3	3
4	4	4	4	4
5	5	5	5	5

Adapted from the work of B. Mace-Matluck, Southwestern Education Development Laboratory, Austin, Texas.

APPENDIX G
ORAL PROFICIENCY RATING SCALE GUIDELINES

Pronunciation

If mispronunciation should occur, please note the words on rating sheet.

1. Often unintelligible with excessive mispronunciation, making comprehension extremely difficult.
2. Intelligible, but with frequent mispronunciations which may, at times, interfere with communication. Extremely high amount of hesitations, repetitions, and unusual pauses.
3. Always intelligible, but reflects occasional mispronunciations which are usually systematic, with a number of hesitations, repetitions, and unusual pauses.
4. Essentially like that of an average speaker of the same age, except for some residue or overtones that suggest nonstandardness or some mispronunciation when compared with other students within the same community. There may be a few repetitions, unusual pauses, or hesitations.
5. For all practical purposes, like that of an average speaker within the same community; pronunciation may reflect characteristic features of the dialect of the region. Pronunciation is clear, easily understood by another native speaker.

Grammar

If errors occur, please note them on rating sheet.

1. Makes excessive number of errors in grammar, except in stock phrases; extremely limited in range and variety of syntactic structures.
2. Makes frequent errors in grammar, which may interfere with normal communication; rather limited in range and variety of syntactic structures; frequently resorts to rephrasing in midcourse.

3. Makes occasional errors in grammar which may, at times, obscure meaning; range and variety of syntactic structures are relatively limited, some rephrasing in midcourse.
4. Makes sporadic errors in grammar that are nontypical of most speakers of the same age; grammar is essentially like that of native speakers with syntactic structures resembling those of an average student in range and variety. If rephrasing occurs, it does not interfere with understanding.
5. Makes no systematic errors in syntax or morphology, except for developmental errors common to most speakers of the same age; range and variety of syntactic structures are like those used by average speakers of the same age.

Vocabulary

If any words or phrases are used inappropriately, please list them.

1. Vocabulary is severely limited and often hampers communication.
2. Vocabulary is limited when compared to the average speaker, frequent use of inappropriate terms.
3. Vocabulary is mostly adequate, but occasionally deficient, frequent use of nonspecific vocabulary.
4. Vocabulary is essentially like that of the average speaker of the same age, except for sporadic groping for appropriate terms, and sporadic use of nonspecific terms.
5. For all practical purposes, vocabulary is like that of an average speaker of the same age. It is rich in its variety of words and expressions.

Comprehension

1. Understands very little speech, except for a limited number of items frequently used in the classroom or social setting (e.g., greetings); requires simplification, repetition, and/or use of gestures.
2. Understands some adult or peer speech spoken at a normal rate, but often requires simplification of speech or frequent repetition or rephrasing.
3. Understands and responds to most adult or peer-group speech, spoken at a normal rate, that would usually be understood by the average native peers, but occasionally demonstrates lack of, or only partial understanding. When speaking, frequently has poor topic maintenance or inappropriate responses.

4. Understands essentially everything, spoken at a normal rate, in school-related, social, or peer-group conversation, except for certain idiomatic phrases or conventionalized usage of the language. When responding, has some difficulty with topic maintenance and may give some inappropriate responses.
5. Understands everything in both the classroom and playgroup speech which would usually be expected of the average speakers of the same age. Demonstrates comprehension in clear, appropriate expressions relevant to the topic.

Overall Communication Skill

1. Participates only minimally in school-related or peer-group conversations. Speech is generally characterized by labored production, incomplete sentences, and/or excessive number of errors.
2. Gets gist of most school-related and peer-group conversations, but unable to participate with facility in any but very familiar, routine conversations. Speech is frequently uneven, hesitant, and fragmented.
3. Understands and speaks the language adequately to participate in most school-related and peer-group conversations. Speech is characterized by occasional errors in grammar, some groping for words, and at times, hesitancy and unevenness in production.
4. Uses the language fluently and accurately, for the most part, and is able to participate successfully in all school-related and peer-group conversations. Speech, while smooth, effortless, and generally without error, contains some sound qualities and grammatical structures which suggest slight difficulties.
5. For all practical purposes, uses the language like the average speaker of the same age. Speech in all school-related and group conversations is smooth, effortless, and fluent.

Adapted from the work of:

Damico, J., Oller, J., & Storey, M. The diagnosis of language disorders in bilingual children: Pragmatic and surface-oriented criteria. In J. Erickson & D. Omark (Eds.), The bilingual exceptional child. Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas, 1981.

Mace-Matluck, B. General characteristics of the children's language use in three environments. Paper presented at the National Conference on Language Arts in the Elementary School, San Antonio, Texas, March 1980.

APPENDIX H
ENTREVISTA DE ALUMNOS (STUDENT INTERVIEW)

1. Cuéntame de tu escuela en Cuba.
Tell me about your school in Cuba.
2. ¿Tenías trabajo que hacer en la escuela?
Did you have any chores to do?
3. ¿Cuál asignatura te gustaba más? Porqué?
Which subject did you like the most? Why?
4. Cuéntame de tu vida en Cuba.
Tell me about your life in Cuba.
5. ¿Que hacías los sabados y domingos?
What did you do on Saturdays and Sundays?
6. ¿Cuándo supiste que ibas a venir a los EE.UU.?
When did you find out that you were coming to the U.S.?
7. ¿Porqué vino tu familia a ---- a vivir?
Why did your family come to _____ to live?
8. ¿Cuáles son las diferencias entre la escuela aquí y la escuela en Cuba?
What are the differences between school here and school in Cuba?
9. ¿Cuál es tu asignatura favorita aquí? Porqué?
What is your favorite subject here? Why?
10. ¿Qué hace tu familia aquí los sabados y domingos?
What does your family do on Saturdays and Sundays?
11. ¿Qué haces después de la escuela durante la semana?
What do you do after school during the week?
12. ¿Te gusta leer?
Do you like to read?
13. ¿Cuál clase de libros te gusta leer?
What kind of books do you like to read?
14. ¿Cuáles son los libros que has leído ultidamente?
What books have you read lately?

15. ¿Qué quieres hacer cuando te gradúes de la escuela?
What do you want to do when you graduate from school?
16. ¿Qué quieren tus padres que hagas?
What do your parents want you to do?
17. ¿Estás aprendiendo inglés?
Are you learning English?
18. ¿Cuál persona te ayuda más a aprender más?
Which person helps you learn the most?

APPENDIX I
ENTREVISTA DE PADRES (PARENT INTERVIEW)

1. ¿Cuál es su opinion sobre las escuelas en Cuba?
What is your opinion of the schools in Cuba?
2. ¿Cuáles son las diferencias y semejanzas entre las escuelas en Cuba y las de aquí?
What are the differences and similarities between schools in Cuba and here?
3. ¿Está(n) su(s) hijo(s) aprendiendo inglés?
Is(are) your child(ren) learning English?
4. ¿Está usted aprendiendo inglés?
Are you learning English?
5. ¿Qué le parece que está ayudando a su(s) hijo(s) aprender inglés?
What seems to be helping your child learn English?

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Sandra Homlar Fradd is a graduate of George Washington University, Washington, D.C., where she received a degree in foreign affairs and a graduate of Florida Atlantic University in Boca Raton, Florida, with several degrees in education.

Her professional career includes teaching English as a second language at the Centro Colomboamericano, Bogotá, Colombia, and Intake Counselor for the Cuban Refugee Program, Division of Health and Rehabilitative Services, Miami, Florida. As an educator, she has taught Spanish Foreign Language in the Elementary School (FLES) in Martin County, Florida, and worked with learning disabled in Dade County, Florida. In St. Lucie County, Florida, she taught the educationally mentally handicapped, Title I fourth grade, the gifted, and served as a principal.


For the past 2 years, she has been a Title VII Bilingual Fellow at the University of Florida, Gainesville, where she majored in curriculum and instruction. While studying at the university, she was employed at the English Language Institute and the International Student Center.

Ms. Fradd has been a recipient of the Adrian Sample Scholarship for the past 4 years. She was awarded a Florida Educational Research and Development Council Grant to complete this research. Listed among her publications are several articles on bilingualism in the Viewpoint section of the Miami Herald, articles in Educational Forum, Migration


Today, Florida Reading Quarterly, Gulf Area TESOL, the Bilingual Journal, and the Journal of Humanistic Education. She has been a member of the State Advisory Council for School Volunteer Programs and is currently a member of the State Advisory Council for Bilingual Education.

Sandra Fradd is currently employed as bilingual curriculum specialist at the University of Florida Bilingual Education Service Center. Although English is her first language, she is fluent in Spanish, speaks some Portuguese, and is becoming proficient in Haitian Creole.

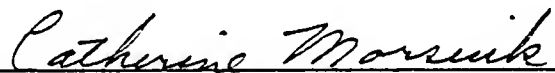
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Clemens L. Hallman, Chairman
Associate Professor of Subject
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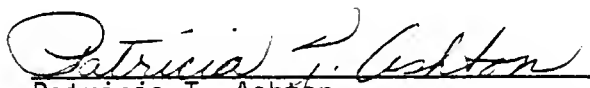
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